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ISSUES OF THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN.

BY SENATOR JAMES McMILLAN, OF MICHIGAN; REPRESENTATIVE BENTON McMILLIN, OF TENNESSEE; SENATOR FRANK HISCOCK, OF NEW YORK; REPRESENTATIVE R. P. BLAND, OF MISSOURI; SENATOR EUGENE HALE, OF MAINE; REPRESENTATIVE W. C. P. BRECKINRIDGE, OF KENTUCKY, AND THE HON. W. R. MERRIAM, GOVERNOR OF MINNESOTA.

SENATOR JAMES McMILLAN:

It is difficult to tell in advance of the opening of a campaign what its predominant issues will be; and just what phase of a particular issue the people may take up is especially uncertain. Yet there are three questions which are now uppermost in the public mind, and which must continue to enter into every campaign, so long as opinions in regard to them differ widely, or until they shall be finally settled—if they ever can be settled. These three are the tariff, the finances, and the franchise.

The tariff, like the poor, we have always with us. When the First Congress embodied the protective principle in the first tariff act, the question of how duties shall be levied was made a continuing one. The United States has made a virtue of what was at first a political necessity, and by means of a protective tariff has been able both to diversify its industries, and to keep the standard of wages comparatively high. But any tariff is of necessity more or less arbitrary, and so is open to attack. As a

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consequence, while a very great majority of the people believe in a protective tariff, there is more or less diversity as to what articles should bear the duties. In the McKinley law, so-called, the theory of protection has been carried to its logical conclusion. Articles which can be manufactured or produced in this country in sufficient quantities to supply our own needs are brought under the shelter of a protective tariff, leaving competition among our own people to regulate prices. Those articles which from climatic or other reasons cannot be produced in this country in sufficient quantities to regulate the price,—in value equal to a little more than half the imports,—are put on the free list. The Republican party as a party believes this to be the true theory of a tariff. The party will go into the coming campaign prepared to maintain this theory, and will adduce the trade history of the country since the McKinley act went into effect to support its position.

More important, however, than the additional symmetry which the McKinley law is believed to give to the protective tariff, is the provision in that act which establishes the policy of reciprocity. The framers of the McKinley Bill, not being able to see their way clear to incorporate the reciprocity scheme in their measure, the Administration pressed the matter on the attention of the Senate, and Mr. Blaine took an appeal to the country. The response in the press and in public meetings was so quick and so satisfactory as to show the deep interest the people have in measures to extend our trade, where such extensions can be made on the basis of mutual concessions. With not only Mexico and the nations of Central and South America, but also Germany and England, for her dependencies, entering into reciprocal trade relations, new commercial bonds are being established between nations. By the exchange each nation gains larger markets; and, inasmuch as it is the surplus of one country that is exchanged for the surplus of the other, the question is not one that affects the protective principle, but simply the revenues. One great difficulty that has existed in discussing the tariff has been the lack of data which both sides could admit as authentic.

The extended inquiry now in progress under the auspices of the Senate Committee on Finance—an investigation that is being conducted in a scientific rather than a partisan spirit, and by

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experts—promises to supply information that may be relied on in regard to the cost of production, both at home and abroad, of the leading articles on which duties are levied. This information, when obtained, should make it possible nicely to adjust the import duties, so as to compensate for the discrepancy between the cost of labor in this country and its cost in other countries; and to make this compensation is the true aim of a protective tariff.

The question of finances will be a disturbing one so long as there is anything essentially arbitrary in the additions made to the currency. The maintenance of the free coinage of both gold and silver at some fixed ratio is the only solution which could take the currency question out of politics; but, unfortunately, the difficulties at present in the way of an effective restoration of silver to its former monetary uses are such as to make the free coinage of that metal by the United States alone, disastrous to the very people who are most ardent for it. Between those who clamor for free coinage and those who are anxious to have gold maintained as the monetary standard of the commercial world, there is a large class of producers who feel deeply the inconveniences of carrying on their business with an amount of money so out of proportion to the volume of credits. It has been the boast of our business world that so small an amount of money was necessary to carry on such an enormous volume of business, but when a commercial shock in Great Britain, like that of the Barings, sends its pulsations through every commercial city in the United States, it is time to consider very carefully some method for getting and keeping larger reserves of money as safeguards against those sudden convulsions which make everything, save money, well-nigh valueless for the time being. This large class of business men—very many of whom are also bankers—are concerned in having a larger supply of money on which to do business, but they see the dangers of free silver-coinage without such help from foreign nations as shall open up again to silver the place which a mistaken financial policy a few years ago closed to it. It is now the study of financiers both in this country and in Europe to maintain larger reserves. To this end business men in this country welcome the regular additions being made to the currency. They prefer to take the risks of a currency contraction which might result by Europe drawing our gold, rather than to put a stop to the expan-

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sion of the currency coincident with the natural growth of business. The present law is, of course, a more or less temporary expedient; but the Republican party will maintain that it is the best possible solution of the financial question for the time being.

The practical defeat of the Lodge Election Bill in the Fifty-first Congress has had the effect of changing the attitude of the members of the Republican party, not in regard to the evils and the menace of the denial of the rights of citizenship to citizens for partisan purposes; but in regard to the means which shall be taken to solve this very perplexing problem. Evidently, in the public mind, the day has gone by for a resort to stringent laws which, however just in themselves, must depend for their enforcement upon a power outside of and opposed to the prevailing sentiment in the States in which the colored vote is suppressed. Throughout the South there are industrial and educational forces at work to change the condition of the colored people. In time the property-owning, intelligent colored man will assert, obtain, and maintain his rights. The question now is as to whether this better day cannot be hastened by some legislative process in which the Southern States themselves will be glad to acquiesce. To meet this need President Harrison, in his latest message, has proposed a non-partisan commission to devise measures which shall insure free and fair elections.

The people who make up the Republican party are not exercised as to the particular manner in which the freedom of the ballot shall be brought about in the South; but they do believe that some way can be found by which the present flagrant injustice may be remedied. While the existing condition of affairs at the South gives that section representation in Congress and in the Electoral Colleges out of all proportion to its voting strength, the franchise will not cease to be a national issue.

There are questions connected with pensions, with the use of the gerrymander, with the foreign policy of the Administration, with the building-up of a merchant marine, with the enlargement and improvement of the water-ways, which will play parts in the coming campaign, varying in importance with the events of the next few months, or with the locality. But the old issues of the tariff, the currency, and the franchise are too deeply rooted in the public mind to be thrust aside, even though party leaders may desire to eliminate one or the other of them. On these questions,

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as well as on the high character and business-like conduct of the present Administration, the Republican party will go confidently into the coming campaign.

JAMES MCMILLAN.

HON. BENTON MCMILLIN:

THE records of the two parties have, in a great measure, made the issues of the campaign of 1892. The principles of the Democratic party are as old as the government. They are the defence of the citizen in his personal liberty; the upholding of the Constitution, and the support of the general government and the State governments in all their integrity. During the administration of President Harrison the Republican party has had control of every branch of the Government. Hence, the action of the party thus in full control and unrestrained may be taken as the most recent and, at the same time, most accurate exposition of the party's principles. They have further made that action their platform by indorsing it in their various State conventions and making their contests upon it.

What are the issues thus raised? It is impossible in so brief an article as this must be to discuss all of them; or to discuss any of them so minutely as would be most satisfactory. But public sentiment has taken so steady a course as to indicate that the following will be issues separating the two parties:

1st. Shall there be reckless prodigality, or wise economy in public expenses?

2d. Shall the people remain free, or be enslaved through "Force Bills," by turning the elections of the legislative branch of the government over to the judicial?

3d. Shall the people be robbed and commerce be destroyed by the imposition of excessive rates of duty?

One of the complaints justly made against the Republican party is its reckless expenditure of public moneys. They found when they came into power a surplus of millions. They spent in two years a billion and nine millions of money and left a deficiency threatened, if not actual. The flood gates were lifted by the Fifty-first Congress, and the millions accumulated by unjust and excessive taxation, but husbanded by Democratic economy to extinguish our public debt, were squandered. Stale jobs were revived, and new ones devised, to get rid of the money and make an

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excuse for still higher taxation. The expenditures during two years of Republican rule can only be comprehended by comparison. They amounted to eight dollars per capita or forty dollars per family each year. The expenditures of that Congress—the Fifty-first—including indefinite and permanent appropriations,—amounted to sixteen dollars for every minute since the Declaration of Independence was signed. The excess of these expenditures of the Fifty-first Congress over the Fiftieth was one hundred and ninety-three millions of dollars, or about seven dollars per annum for every family in the land. The people are coming to regard this as too costly a luxury.

The effort to subvert the Government by passing the "Force Bill" and turning the elections over to the Federal Courts and to the appointees of federal power, was rebuked in the elections of 1890 and will be rebuked again in those of 1892. Appropriations to pay bounties and subsidies were made permanent to prevent their repeal. The taxing power was surrendered by the Congress to the President. The treasury was emptied. The taxes were vastly increased. The tendency of our people to resent wrong and smite the wrong-doer being known, it was determined by those in control of the Republican party to change the election laws so that complaint would be unavailing; to "put," as they boasted, "bayonets behind ballots," and thus control elections through power emanating from Washington. After the people had been robbed through unjust tariff taxation, they were to be enslaved. The "returning board"—that engine by which the will of the majority was thwarted in 1876, and Tilden's inauguration prevented—was to be again invoked. Forty-four returning boards were to be organized. Forty-four live thieves, turned loose from forty-four crosses on a helpless people, would not have been half such a curse. The right of the people through their laws to regulate and conduct their own elections will ever be contended for while we are worthy the elective franchise. This "Force Bill" proposition was defeated. But even yet many advocate it. It was defeated by the stubborn resistance of a solid Democracy, aided by many patriotic men of all parties who were unwilling to see the institutions of one hundred years perish to subserve temporary or mere partisan interests.

The Tariff issue is at the front, and will be the leading issue in the elections of this year. For a quarter of a century the

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people have struggled to relieve themselves from some portion of the high taxes imposed to carry on the most gigantic civil war of modern times. They had seen remitted the income, legacy, and other taxes which had been placed on the wealth of the country. These alone, if kept to this day, would have paid all the public debt, improved every river and harbor for which estimates have yet been made, and would have left the country out of debt. They had seen the manufacturer's tax repealed without the repeal of the compensating tax placed on manufactured goods. The Tariff Commission of 1883, composed of protectionists, had reported that the people were entitled to a reduction of 20 or 25 per cent., and had recommended it. All the political platforms of all parties had recognized the justness of their demand for relief. Yet the Tariff law of 1883 was an increase on the rates theretofore existing, and the act passed by the last Congress is a still greater increase on the bill of 1883. Verily, the people have "asked for bread and been given a stone."

Let us examine the act passed by the last Congress and see whether it is worthy of permanence. For the first time all disguise was thrown off, and the doctrines of the campaign were put into practical legislation. "The fat fried out" for campaign purposes had to be returned with "thirty, sixty, or an hundred fold." The average rate of duty was increased from about 45 per cent. to nearly, or quite, 60 per cent.; the increases being greater on the coarser articles required for common use than upon luxuries.

The importer was dealt with as if he were a criminal. They legislated as if commerce were a crime; as if ballast were the only commendable incoming cargo. The effort was made in earnest to put the "wall of fire around the country." Bounties were provided for to be paid out of the public treasury; and the experiment entered upon of taxing directly one man to make another's vocation pay. The authors of this measure take to themselves great credit for having placed sugar on the free list. It is true near fifty millions of sugar duties were repealed; but the same act which did this placed sixty-five millions additional duties on other things. "With one hand they put a penny into the urn of poverty and with the other took a shilling out." They repealed the duty which yielded eight-ninths of its exactions to the treasury and placed additional duties on other necessaries of

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life, where three-fourths of the increase went into the coffers of manufacturers and only one-fourth into the treasury. And, as before stated, this was not a free-will offering, for it went hand in hand with a measure giving bounties in lieu of the tariff repealed.

There is another feature of this monstrous measure, un-American and dangerous, deserving comment and condemnation. Nothing could be more at war with our institutions than the section of the present tariff law authorizing the President, "in his discretion," to impose a tax of ten cents a pound on tea, three cents a pound on coffee, and two cents a pound on sugar, and a tax on hides. He may impose and remit these taxes at pleasure. He may impose millions of taxes without convening Congress or consulting it if in session. To-day the President of the United States is threatening to impose these taxes, instead of referring the matter to the representatives of the people assembled in Congress. If he does, he will impose no more taxes after March 4, 1893. King George the Third was denounced, defied, and defeated in the Colonies for levying, even through Parliament, less tax on less tea. Did we rebel against the usurpations of George the Third in 1776 only to make an unmanly surrender of high prerogatives to Harrison the second in 1890? But it is insisted that by this surrender to one man of the right of the people's representatives to impose the taxes, they may get reciprocity and commercial advantages. Esau's excuse for the base bargain by which he sold his birthright and heritage for a mess of pottage was, that he was hungry. Yet even his spiritless imitators of modern times would hardly praise his accumulation of fat by such folly. They are denied here the pitiful palliation of empty stomachs which the "base Judean" had.

The highest tariff law this country ever knew—higher even than the war tariff—has now been in operation one year and four months. No one can point to a period of greater prostration than has characterized this. Strikes and labor troubles have been the rule, not the exception. Many manufacturing establishments have closed. Others have reduced the wages of the employees, others the time of employment. Much was said in behalf of the laborer when the bill was under consultation. Yet "eye hath not seen nor ear heard" of a laborer who has had his wages increased by the McKinley Bill. Favor to him was a mere pretext

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and sham. He has been forced to pay more for the clothes that cover his back, and for the roof that covers his head, and in hundreds of instances at the same time to accept a reduction of wages.

The Democratic party insists, and will insist in the campaign, that this enormous increase in the rate of tariff taxation is not a sufficient response to the people's demand for tariff reduction. They will be found ever battling against the robbery of the many for the enrichment of the few. The battle is on, and Democracy will stand where it has stood—in favor of the rights of the masses as against the exactions of the classes. There will be no shirking, no postponing, no evading this issue. Democracy could not avoid it if it would; it would not avoid it if it could. Our cause is just, and will triumph.

BENTON MCMILLIN.

SENATOR FRANK HISCOCK:

YOU ask me to "prophesy," for publication in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, the issues that will predominate, and divide the two great political parties, in the presidential election of 1892. Leading Democrats can indicate them in detail with far more certainty than I, for the reason which will appear later on.

The representatives of the Republican and Democratic parties will convene in May or June next and adopt their platforms, and it is very easy now to outline the resolutions of each declaring their political faith. The legislation of the Fifty-first Congress fixing the present customs duties will afford the leading issue. The Republican convention will approve that legislation, and the Democratic convention will denounce it in both elaborate and pointed rhetoric; but, in my judgment, the actual contention upon this great economic question will be made, not by the resolutions of the two conventions, but by the House of Representatives of the Fifty-second Congress. The Democratic party is largely in the majority there. The constituencies of the Democratic members will expect, the Republican party will have a right to demand, and the country will exact of them, an expression, in the form of a bill agreed upon and passed by them, of the changes which they propose in our present tariff laws. The law-making power of the Democratic party must, therefore, make the issues of the next national election upon this subject.

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In 1888 the House of Representatives was Democratic and passed what is known as the Mills Bill. A Republican Senate rejected it and proposed a bill which went to the country long enough before the election in November to be fairly understood by the people. This bill, amended somewhat, but not to the extent of changing its general character, was passed by the Senate at the short session of the Fiftieth Congress. Its provisions were practically those embodied in what is now popularly known as the McKinley Law. The bill which passed the House and that proposed to the Senate by the Finance Committee made the controversy of the presidential contest of 1888, resulting in the election of President Harrison. And again in 1892 will the candidates of the two parties be elected and defeated according as the people shall approve the bill which shall be proposed by the Democratic House of Representatives of the Fifty-second Congress, or the tariff legislation of the Fifty-first Congress.

I suppose I am expected to indicate somewhat more in detail the issues that will be made upon this dominant and all-absorbing question, the tariff, and there arise my difficulty and the occasion for my assertion that Democratic authority would be far more satisfactory than mine.

The revenue legislation of the Fifty-first Congress places sugar substantially upon the free list, resulting in a loss of revenue of nearly fifty-four millions of dollars annually. It provides for bounties to be paid upon domestic sugar requiring nine millions of dollars annually. The sugar legislation involved a loss and expenditure of revenue, therefore, of sixty-three millions of dollars annually.

The legislation also placed upon the free list other articles involving an annual loss of nearly six millions of dollars to our national revenues. No political party will restore sugar or one of those other articles to the dutiable list. With great confidence I express the judgment that the Democratic party will not go to the country in 1892 weighted with an increased duty upon sugar or a duty upon any article now on the free list.

Especially with reference to sugar and those articles is it true that customs duties upon them are a tax upon the consumer. Sugar, the most prominent, will serve to illustrate the entire line. It has become not only an article of luxury, but really of necessity, to our people of all classes, and is consumed in about equal pro-

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portions by all. From the fact that the American production is so small in comparison with the entire amount which we use, it cannot materially affect the market value of foreign sugar here; certainly, whatever is added in the way of customs duties to the importations is paid directly by the American consumer. A political party, if it did hesitate to remove the duties, will absolutely refuse to reimpose them. But the bill which the Democratic House proposes must of necessity provide ample revenues for the administration of the various departments of our government. With the loss of revenue which I have indicated, the framers of the tariff law of the future must bear anxiously in mind its effect upon the income of the government. If the present sugar legislation and the present free list are to be retained, the Mills Bill, as it passed the House of Representatives of the Fiftieth Congress, unchanged in other respects, cannot be made the platform of the national Democratic party in 1892, in my opinion, for the reason that it would not provide sufficient money for government use.

Retaining the present free list and legislation upon sugar, as I have already indicated,—it does not occur to me that the House of Representatives of the Fifty-second Congress will disturb it,—we are on the borders of the realm of speculation as to what attempt statesmen and political leaders will make against the present duties upon importations. I again call attention to the fact that the bill must provide sufficient revenue for the government. No political party will propose any other. Our people will not tolerate national bankruptcy. I am not, however, in the counsels of the gentlemen who have the difficult task before them of preparing a bill on the line I have indicated which shall provide sufficient revenue and at the same time reduce the present duties. I frankly admit my inability now to indicate how it might be wisely done, either for the good of the country or a party success, even if we eliminate from the consideration of the question the policy of protection for our domestic industries.

Doubtless quite a large majority in the House of Representatives of the Fifty-second Congress favor, or would vote to open our mints for, the free coinage of the silver of the world. Still, I doubt if that question will be made important in the next presidential canvass. The electoral vote of the State of New York will doubtless be required for the election of the Democratic

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national candidates, and the Democratic majority in the House of Representatives will hardly care to handicap their party in New York by passing a free-coinage bill. The exigencies of the situation, I believe, will suppress an expression of their political convictions in that form. The Silver-Purchase Act of the last Congress will doubtless be approved by the Republican and challenged by the Democratic National Convention; but in the tangible form of a bill passed by the present House of Representatives the free-silver issue will not be presented to the country.

The national Republican party will stand stoutly by the policy and acts of the present administration to promote reciprocal trade with foreign countries under the Aldrich amendment of the Customs Law of 1890. I doubt if any attempt be made by the present Democratic House to repeal this provision. The Democratic National Convention will, I apprehend, pass over that question with little more than an unfriendly allusion to it.

FRANK HISCOCK.

HON. R. P. BLAND:

UNDOUBTEDLY the question of tariff reform will be the most absorbing issue in the coming Presidential election. But it will not be the only question presented. The issues that grow out of our duplicate form of government, the conflicts arising between the jurisdiction and proper functions of the States and the Federal system, have in the past entered largely into the discussions involved in the Federal politics and will continue to demand attention. The attempt of the Republican party in the Fifty-first Congress to take from the people of the States the control over the local and Congressional elections, under the plea of superior wisdom and virtue in Congress to secure honest results, called forth a determined opposition on the part of the masses of the people of the States.

The alarm bell had been sounded. Home rule and local self government were put in jeopardy. This attempted legislation, and the methods resorted to to accomplish it, did more than all else to send to the Fifty-second Congress an overwhelming majority of Democrats. It is plain that a vast majority of the intelligent people of this country still adhere to the Jeffersonian idea of our institutions. No political party can safely attempt to permanently establish the Hamiltonian theory for us. It is true that

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during the war the Hamiltonian theories were the rule, and have been since; but the people are now most emphatically calling a halt on the usurpations and encroachments of the Federal Congress. The laboring and producing classes of the American people thought they saw between the lines of the "Force Bill" an attempt on the part of centralized monopoly and organized selfishness to take from the people of the States the freedom of elections. The people are justly jealous of the powers of Congress. They have good reason to believe that centralization at Washington would attempt to control the ballot in the interests of centralized greed. Thus the issues, presented by Jefferson on the one hand and Hamilton on the other, have again become dominant in our politics. A partial truce has been called. Republican ascendancy means other and further attempts upon the liberties of the masses.

A protective tariff was but a part of the class legislation sought to be sheltered and protected by "Force Bill" ballots. The question of tariff reform has been taken by the Republican party from the domain of revenue. They declare it to be a necessity, independent of any question of revenue. Protection is the great object sought; revenue a mere incident to be considered.

Thus, the tariff as now presented is a war for markets. A certain class of our people clamor at the doors of Congress for a "home market." This class gained a complete victory in the enactment of the McKinley tariff. The tariff baron has secured to himself a monopoly of the American market in which both to sell and to buy. The law that gives him a monopoly of the home market in which to sell his wares also shuts in the farmer and other producers, compelling them also to buy and sell in the home market. The farmer in particular has now been forced into the arena of battle for markets. He is organized, well equipped, and freshly painted for the battle. He finds himself from year to year with an enormous surplus of products on hand, that the home market is wholly unable to consume. The market for him is but a limited market.

The American farmer knows his rights. He is now alert to his interests as never before. Woe be to the political party that opposes him in his material interests! A flag of truce, or blind, thrown in his path, called reciprocity, will not do. As now outlined by his enemies, reciprocity means freer trade with agricultural countries

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that compete with him. He demands and will have freer trade with the peoples who will buy most from him and sell most to him. Any other reciprocity is a transparent cheat.

The money question, in the shape of the free coinage of silver, will not down at the bidding of either political party. The people will make it an issue. As to how this question may be met, is disturbing both political organizations. It may find its solution in the way the tariff question was met when Mr. Greeley was nominated for the Presidency by the Democrats; that is, leave it as an issue in the various congressional districts; the executive not to interpose his individual views as against the people as expressed at the ballot box, and crystallized into legislation by their representatives in Congress.

The evident effort on the part of the opponents of free coinage to commit both parties to a hostile attitude as respects silver by forcing a candidate on them who is pledged in advance to play Czar or autocrat in vetoing any bill Congress may send him, ought not to succeed. If the majority of the American people want free coinage of silver, they ought to have it. The question has been the subject of heated discussion for near twenty years; both parties are divided upon it, but neither party should be so manipulated or controlled as to cheat a fair expression upon the subject. Let it be understood that whoever is elected President, he will conform to the wishes of the people's representatives. All parties ought to be satisfied to abide by that determination. This is supposed to be a republican form of government, where the will of the people constitutionally expressed is, or ought to be, the law.

The opponents of free coinage profess not to desire the question agitated. Yet they are cunning enough to demand of both parties a nominee practically pledged in advance to veto any free coinage bill that Congress in its wisdom may send him.

The question of economy always ought to be a burning question for the taxpayer. Yet of late this question is practically submerged in the tariff. If it is true, as the doctrine of protection proclaims, that the foreigner pays the tariff tax, economy will be a lost art. What reason could my constituents have to complain should I vote to increase my salary to ten thousand a year instead of five thousand? Indeed, the argument for protection tells them that the foreigner bears the burden, that the more money I get

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the more I am likely to spend in employing servants and giving wages to labor, and by luxurious living buy more and spend more, and thus put money in circulation among my constituency. If the foreigner pays the tax, billion-dollar Congresses are billion-dollar benefactors. Judge Holman's economic resolutions are aimed to pauperize our own people and to relieve the foreigner. The more extravagant our appropriations, the more we draw from the foreigner. Inasmuch as a protective tariff is thus admitted to be organized selfishness, it cannot be wondered at that we have now a prodigal government.

Political parties on this theory are no longer accountable to our taxpayers. Congress has undisputed and absolute sway in dealing out favors. Since we have found a way to raise revenue without taxation, it must be expected that Congress will deal out bounties and subsidies, and lavish the money wrung from the foreigner upon political favorites; like all freebooters, Congress must bountifully provide for the mercenaries and retainers who make up the army of spoils and plunder.

R. P. BLAND.

SENATOR EUGENE HALE:

THE Republican party will furnish the issues for the campaign of 1892. It began doing this for Presidential elections in 1856, and the history of the propositions touching the existence and the prosperity of the nation—which propositions it has victoriously maintained and embedded in the life of the Republic—makes the national record for the last thirty years. It will be no new thing for the party to see its advance contested and its way blocked up by the Democracy.

First, The doctrine of protection, as opposed to free trade in any shape into which the Democratic party may turn it, will have a front place in the contest. The temporary check which the party met in the elections of 1890, largely because the provisions of the McKinley Bill were not understood and their effect had not been demonstrated, no more decided the battle and delivered the victory to the free-traders than Marengo was lost to Napoleon at that stage where Dessaix appeared upon the field. The Republican party will take its chance before the people upon the doctrine of protection as opposed to free trade or what is called revenue reform; but this doctrine, in 1892, will

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be enlarged and expanded and popularized by its new ally and handmaiden, reciprocity, which, when protection has built up the product of American labor, furnishes a market abroad for its overplus, without in the least endangering that product by the competition of foreign underpaid labor. The whole scheme of reciprocity, mainly directed to trade with the sister Republics of the American continent, goes hand in hand with protection. The Democrats pervert its meaning, deride its uses, and yet, it is plain to see, are afraid of it.

Governor Hill's convention in New York denounced it as a humbug, and his party associates, North and South, are plainly getting ready to oppose it. In the great battle between free trade and protection the centre of the Republican line will be reciprocity, and, so far from this being a concession of ground to the free traders, it is just the reverse. The two things mean exactly the opposite. Protection and reciprocity mean more manufacturing and more production at home and more sales abroad. Free trade means less manufacture and less production at home and more purchases abroad. Any man who has tried to do business, or any woman who has tried housekeeping, with more going out and less coming in, has easily enough found out which way the road leads.

Second, A sound, stable currency, maintaining gold and silver at par and utilizing both these American metals, under some such proposition as that embodied in the legislation of 1890, will be another issue that the Republican party will present to the American people. The party will have practically close ranks on this issue; but it requires a seer's foresight to discern what will be the attitude of the Democratic party in national convention on this issue, where the dominating force in numbers, in delegations representing the States which must furnish a large majority of the votes which it can secure in the Electoral College in order to elect a President, is rabidly bent on nothing short of free silver.

Third, I look to see during the coming session of Congress a Republican issue clearly defined covering the restriction of criminal and pauper immigration. Whether the Democratic party will venture to oppose this, as it opposes reciprocity, may not yet be certain; but the proposition will, I believe, be elaborated and adopted by the Republican party.

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Fourth, The year 1892 will be a great centennial year. Sixty-five millions of people in the United States will hail it as the era of Americanism, and all the things which go to make a great, broad, inspiring American policy will be presented to the American people in the platform of the Republican party. The encouragement of American steamship lines by governmental benefactions, which have been tried so successfully by great European commercial nations; the rebuilding of the navy as an adjunct and protector of our growing commerce; and a diplomatic policy which makes the United States the centre and perhaps the arbiter of all peoples in this hemisphere—all these will be included in what may be called the American issue to be presented next year by the Republican party.

Going with these, not quite as an issue, but potential in reinforcing the issues, will be the record presented by the Republican party of an Administration which has shown itself patriotic, honest, practical, and able to grapple successfully with the largest questions that interest the American people. The President has shown himself thoroughly equipped for all the duties of his great place. The Secretary of State, so far from turning his department into a rallying place for jingoism, has maintained the honor and dignity of the Republic with calmness and wisdom, and in his encounters with the diplomatists of Europe, who have passed their lives in such controversies, has never come off second best. The heads of the Treasury department have managed the finances of the people with ability and integrity. In all the other departments of the Government the record has been one of unbroken success.

If with these issues the Republican party cannot prevail before the people in 1892, it may as well go out of political business.

EUGENE HALE.

HON. W. C. P. BRECKINRIDGE:

ASSUMING that the Democratic party has not already thrown away the Presidency, upon what issue can it win, and has it the wisdom to select and skill to compel the battle to be made upon it?

There are fundamental differences between the Republican and Democratic parties, and a Democrat, in the technical sense

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of the word, will find in every contest ample justification for opposing Republican candidates, no matter what may be the particular declaration of policy announced. But as new questions of practical importance constantly arise, each canvass assumes a peculiar aspect, and in each Presidential contest there must be some leading issue or issues, and to select wisely and skilfully the issue to be made pre-eminent in a particular canvass is becoming more important because of the increase of those troublesome voters upon whom party ties sit lightly, but who reserve to themselves the privilege to vote as they please. And it is not exaggerating the importance of this increasing class of voters to say that they have much to do with the formation of issues in a given canvass. They hold the balance of power.

This is peculiarly true as to the Democratic party. To elect its candidates it must secure the electoral vote of the sixteen so-called Southern States, whose solidity has been compacted by the effort of a Republican Congress to pass a force bill, and, in addition, the votes of New York, Indiana, Connecticut, and New Jersey, for even the Michigan law renders our success too uncertain for us not to depend upon those four Northern States. We have in the last three years carried Iowa three times, Massachusetts, as to the Governor, twice, Wisconsin once, and have the delegation in Congress from Rhode Island and New Hampshire. It is true that in these States we have been aided by local influences. The engaging personality and popularity of Governor Russell, and the power of the group of young men around him, may account for the triumphs in that State. The skilful leadership of Governor Boies and the dissatisfaction at the stringent provisions of the prohibition legislation have won in Iowa. In Wisconsin local questions touching the right of parents over the education of their children aided there. In Illinois, the power and character of General Palmer were, no doubt, of great avail. But these peculiar local causes alone cannot account for the overwhelming victory of 1890, and for the maintenance of our ground in 1891. There must be some underlying reason, some general tendency caused by some question of interest alike to every section and held to be important by the people of all the States, that has enabled us to win these victories. It is clear that that is the reduction of taxation and a revision by Congress of the tariff laws. None of the States mentioned can be claimed to be surely

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Democratic. They have simply indicated their willingness to become Democratic upon certain conditions.

It may be assumed that we cannot elect a President on the issue of free coinage; that we cannot carry any one of those States on that issue, and that we endanger our success in New York, New Jersey and Connecticut. Economy in public expenditure is important, but it is scarcely possible to make it a national issue, and it must always remain an auxiliary rather than a preëminent issue.

In the approaching canvass, therefore, the main issue between the parties will be the question of taxation, and the success of the Democratic party may depend upon the earnestness and aggressiveness it shows in the present House on that question. We cannot win upon the do-nothing policy, for if the country gets it into its mind that our party in Congress is on dress parade, that its fight on the tariff is simply a sham battle that marks the evolution of an army in time of peace, and that we are firing blank cartridges, the Presidency is lost before the canvass begins. And if the Republicans are skillful enough to take advantage of our division on the money question to force that issue to the front, we may find it impossible to regain the confidence which we may thus lose.

As "the cruel war" with Chili is over, the Republican party will be compelled to make its fight upon some economic question. It may not be able or, indeed, anxious to avoid the issue upon which it claims to have won in 1888. Particularly will it be its policy to press the advantage if the Democratic party attempts to evade this. If no real, earnest and aggressive attack is made upon the McKinley Bill in the present House, the Republicans will put us on the defensive, and it will not be a contest between opposing principles, but a mere fight over details. It will be claimed that the Democratic party will not force the repeal of the McKinley Bill, and, in lieu of it, the enactment of a Democratic tariff bill carrying out the views of those who led the party on that issue from 1884 to 1891, and that all the country has to pass upon is whether certain details of that bill shall be changed, at the risk of disturbing the industries of the country and keeping in uncertainty its commercial interests. So that while the main issue in the approaching canvass will be the tariff, the particular form in which it will be presented will depend upon the action of the

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present House, and largely upon the past history and present views of the candidates selected by the Democratic party; and somewhat upon the platform adopted by our convention.

It would be well if the leaders of both parties, especially those who control the machinery by which delegates are elected and conventions constituted, could realize that the people understand this question: that they are in earnest about it, and that they cannot be fooled by careful but ambiguous declarations in platforms, or speeches in obscure oratorical and oracular phrases.

For two months the country has been in a condition of expectancy; thousands of independent voters in a state of uncertainty. This will not continue long, and that party will win which soonest impresses upon the country that it is sincere and will follow its convictions to their logical results.

We lost New York in 1880 and in 1888, and we have lost Indiana so often, and under such circumstances, as to make the party extremely anxious when her vote is necessary to success. It is, therefore, never certain that we can carry these two States. It dwarfs the party, and limits its choice, to depend upon these States for success. It is of importance to so frame the issue as to give hope for carrying enough electoral votes to render the Democratic party hereafter more independent.

A sweeping victory this fall would give us the Presidency and both Houses of Congress for the first time since the war. This is the only year in which this has been possible, and if we do not accomplish this now it will scarcely be possible to win the Senate two years from now. This condition creates two distinct influences: One, to cause all Democrats to be more anxious to frame the issues so as to give hope of such a victory; the other, to cause each Democrat to be more tolerant of conduct in those who control the machinery of the party than he otherwise might be. In other words, the stakes are so high that men who would otherwise make open breach for conduct of which they disapprove hesitate even so much as to criticise this conduct.

But it is well to remember that this does not control those independent voters, who care but little as to the party which holds power and nothing as to the persons which fill offices, but much as to the success of views which they hold to be superior to party affiliations.

The administration of Mr. Cleveland put an end for all time

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to any serious discussion of the sectional questions, or of the capacity of the Democratic party to govern; not that it has put an end to the danger of force bills, to perpetuate the Republican party in power, but to the discussion on the stump or around the firesides of the olden charges that the Democratic party was the friend of treason, that the South could not be trusted, and that the Democratic party was incapable of governing. This canvass, therefore, if it does not degenerate into a mere scramble for office, where the contest is between the two machines, will be one of great earnestness, and based on sincere differences of opinion, and mostly, if not altogether, upon the entire revision of the present system of taxation, and the substitution for the McKinley Bill of a bill which will be satisfactory to those who believe in the principles laid down in the celebrated message of Mr. Cleveland, and in the teachings of those who are peculiarly known as the tariff reformers.

W. C. P. BRECKINRIDGE.

GOV. WM. R. MERRIAM:

AS THE time draws nigh for holding conventions by the two great political parties of the country, the question of the political issues that are likely to arise becomes a very prominent one. It would seem at this distance as though the Republican party must stand by the two important questions now under consideration, and already assumed in the past, as party principles. I refer to the question of free coinage, and of the policy of protection. I name them in this order, as I look upon the financial question as the more important issue at stake for the next campaign.

The Republican party in the past has always stood firmly and unitedly against the issuance of fiat money in any form, or of governmental assumption of a currency that was not based upon a coin redemption. It has firmly set its face against the issuance of any dollar that was not the equal of any other dollar. In other words, it has been uniformly in favor of honest money. It has determined to oppose the free coinage of silver, unless the nations of the earth agree upon some basis upon which the two metals can flow side by side. It can not, in my opinion, at this time afford to change its position upon this important question. Let it be understood that its policy will be

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persistently and continuously opposed to the coinage of silver whenever that metal is not at a parity with gold. It is a very grave question in the minds of many Republicans whether the present law is not practically, in effect, a leaning towards the free coining of silver, and many object to it on this ground. Whether it will be policy to attempt to change this law at present, is a matter for consideration. There will come a time, certainly, when this enormous mass of silver will have to be gotten rid of, and to offer it for sale in large sums for purposes of redemption will result in great loss to the Government.

It is undoubtedly a fact that, as the question of free coinage is agitated and considered by the people and the practical results that would arise from it understood, there is a constant tendency towards defeating any measure that would look to the unlimited coinage of the white metal. The Democratic party seems to be fairly committed to the policy of free coinage. During the last session of Congress it passed a bill in the House, and the Democratic Senators, with one or two from the other side, voted for that measure in the Senate. It was made an issue in the Ohio campaign last fall, the Democrats declaring in their platform for an unlimited coinage of silver. The Governor of New York in his recent speech at Elmira practically means that he proposes to stand upon the platform of free coinage. Some of the great lights of the Democratic party have seen fit to declare their opposition to any measure of this kind, but a large number of the leaders, including some of the most influential, stand squarely upon a policy committed to the unlimited coinage of all the silver in the United States and elsewhere, if presented at the mints. So that, while there are conservative members of the Democratic party who would like to make this issue a secondary one, and some who are anxious to evade it, the majority, who do want free coinage, come out and state their position. It is evident that the Democratic leaders, as a whole, believe in the wisdom of attempting to place a silver plank in their next platform and the committing of their party to the so-called free-coinage policy, and the campaign will be, no doubt, largely fought out on this line: a campaign of financial questions that will be of real benefit to the country.

It is not unlikely, in addition, that the Democratic party will feel the desirability of fusing with the Alliance organization as

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far as it may do so with hope of success. Should this policy be adopted, with that decision will come the consideration of the so-called sub-treasury scheme. The Democrats may feel it to their interest, in order to control the Alliance vote, to subscribe to the idea of having the general government loan unlimited amounts of money to any one who can present security within certain prescribed limits.

The time is drawing nigh for the Republicans to stand on a platform for honest money—in favor, however, of utilizing silver whenever all the great nations of the earth agree upon some basis of issuance as between gold and silver, whereby they may be kept side by side in value; but steadily against the free coinage of the cheaper metal which must result very soon in driving the gold coin out of this country and shrinking our circulation over six hundred million dollars. I am fully convinced that the Republican party can go before the country and safely present its side of the money question, trusting that the good sense of the people will guide them right in the solution of this problem.

The other issue that will be most prominent will, of course, be the question of protection. The great leaders of the Democratic party—those, at least, who stand highest in its councils—have practically determined to make the next contest upon the question of free trade, pure and simple. Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Mills—both eminent leaders—have outlined this as the party's policy. They would like to call it tariff reform, but, if we can understand Mr. Mills upon this question, there can be no doubt as to a declaration on the part of the Democratic party, as a principle, for a tariff upon such articles as are not produced in this country. This is about as near a free-trade standpoint as he could well hold, and if he represents a majority of his party, as it is fair to presume he does, free trade will be a plank of the Democratic platform in 1892. The question of the desirability of taking such strong ground is a matter for the Democrats to settle for themselves. It seems to me that for them at this time to take secondary ground in connection with the so-called tariff-reform movement, would be to lose what they have gained in the past.

Governor Russell, in a recent article, ascribes the victory this fall to the feeling on the part of many citizens of Massachusetts of the necessity of tariff reform, and he indicates

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that any departure from this principle must result in ultimate loss to the Democratic party. Should there be any temporizing by the present Congress with the question of tariff reform, or any desire to simply secure a little political capital by making a few changes in the rate of duty upon particular articles, it will be understood by the country as meaning that the Democrats desire to evade any real issue in the next campaign on the question of taxation, and do not dare stand by the policy set forth by Mr. Cleveland and other Democratic leaders.

The Republicans must adhere firmly to their policy of protection of home industries. They must stand squarely upon this plank of their platform. The party cannot afford to stultify itself and evade this issue. It has too often proclaimed as one of its cardinal tenets the policy of protection, and it must adhere to that idea. While it is generally understood that any tariff law will not be absolutely satisfactory to all parts of a country like ours, many of the Republicans have felt in the past, that on some of the items included in the McKinley Bill the rate of tariff is excessive, and there was a feeling among many Republicans, and is to-day, that certain schedules should be revised; but these are simply individual opinions, and as a whole the Republicans feel the necessity of adhering to the principle of protection as exemplified by the provisions of the law.

It is well to have it understood that the people desire a revision of the tariff upon the lines of a reduction of taxation as the changes of conditions and the needs of the country will permit. There will be in the future, whenever the time is ripe for such a change, an adjustment of the rates to the point of compensation for the difference in wages between the labor of Europe and America. In levying taxes necessary to cover the expenses of the Government, it is well to collect as far as possible through the medium of indirect taxation and protection to our own labor. This seems to have been the idea of Garfield and Arthur and other Republican leaders in the past, and is the idea of Republicans of to-day. The Republicans must take and maintain strong and decided ground upon the question of protection to American labor.

WILLIAM R. MERRIAM.

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DO WE LIVE TOO FAST?

BY CYRUS EDSON, M. D., CHIEF INSPECTOR OF THE NEW YORK BOARD OF HEALTH.

WHICH one among us, as he looks abroad at the country he is so proud of; as he reads the history of the short national life; as he marks the deeds of Americans that have made its pages stand out in the records of mankind; as he thinks of the heroes and patriots who have led and governed this people; as he remembers the furnace of civil war in whose glowing depths the manhood,—aye, and the womanhood, too, of the nation were tried; as he ponders over the growth, the strength, the intelligence, the wealth, the genius, the power of the United States,—which one among us does not feel an added heart-beat of pride and exultation as he realizes that he is an American?

It is trite to say the power of a nation is but the aggregate of the powers of its individual citizens, yet it is none the less profoundly true. It is a physical law that the union of diverse stocks will produce the strongest progeny. Under this law we should have the strongest blood on earth, for no nation is composed of so many and so diverse strains. In our government, which is but the will of the people, we have absolutely no restraint on our development. It is for us to will and then to do; there is nothing we need fear, nothing that will be a bar to our advancement. In material wealth we have one of the richest countries in the world; our resources have not yet seen ten per cent of their possible development. In geographical position we are absolutely independent; we are not cursed by neighbors whom we must dread. We are as safe from attack as it is possible for a nation to be. We have in our climate the very best range of the temperate zone, and we have every reason to be healthy. Individually the race of life is equally open to all; its prizes, honors, emoluments are for the man who can take them. Under

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such circumstances, physical, social, and moral, we should produce the most effective race the world has ever seen. The question is, and it is a question of the most vital importance to one and all of us who love this land of ours,—are we producing that race?

The distinguishing characteristic of the American of to-day is his practicality. He demands as a result of his labor a tangible reward, and for the most part he seeks it in material prosperity; and the American pursues the Almighty Dollar with an energy, a zeal, a persistence, that is amazing. But he can sacrifice it as a duty or from sentiment. The civil war proved what Americans would do for their country; the pension lists speak loudly as to their gratitude; the vast sums which have been raised for the unfortunate answer for their charity; the billions of money spent for education show their sense of duty. In the main, though, the American strives for wealth as the great reward in life.

But the free competition and the social environment that make it possible have between them driven the pace up to a fearful speed. The American works harder than does any other man or woman on earth. His business is always with him, he has no rest, no cessation, no relief from the strain. Were he to reduce the effort, his competitors would pass him at once. This and the fact that the rewards are so rich, so sure, so quickly won, stimulate him to his greatest effort all the time. He has been aptly likened to a steam engine running constantly under a forced draught. His daily routine is one of intense and ever-present excitement. He must have a stimulus even in his recreations. The most exciting books, dramas whose gorgeousness of setting and sensational character of plot rival the dreams of Eastern tellers of tales, athletic games that demand the utmost effort, horses whose speed is that of railroad trains, yachts that fly over the surface of the sea,—these and a thousand other things, all intense, all startling, all sensational, are the occupation of his leisure hours.

What is the outcome? To supply his rapidly exhausted system he is compelled to consume large quantities of rich food and to stimulate himself with alcoholic beverages. One of three results almost inevitably follows:

First, He becomes an inebriate and is destroyed by the alcoholic poison he consumes.

Second, Escaping the pitfall of acquired drunkenness, he rapidly impairs his digestive organs by his abuse of food, and in

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consequence of this his stomach and intestines no longer properly perform their functions. His system does not receive its proper nourishment and he soon literally burns out.

Third, He starts on his career with a robust digestion not easily deranged. The over-indulgence of his appetite crowds upon the excretory apparatus an amount of work that sooner or later embarrasses and disorders it. Matter that should be cast out is retained in the body and forms unwholesome tissue. Fat is accumulated. The muscular system undergoes what is termed "fatty degeneration." The heart may become affected. The kidneys may become diseased, or the overworked digestive system refuses to perform its functions. Now, the digestive organs are controlled by a very important system of nerves, and the nervous balance (if I may be allowed this term) of these is disarranged. This gives rise to all kind of nervous phenomena,—insomnia, neuralgia, and hysterical symptoms. The name "nervous exhaustion," or "neurasthenia," has been coined to describe the condition into which this overworked, overstimulated man gets.

The American has little time to attend to bodily ailments. If some urgent symptom or an acute attack of disease compels him to consult a physician, the latter is required to "patch him up" as soon as possible. Thus urged, the doctor treats his symptoms instead of the disease, symptoms which in the main are only danger signals set by nature to warn the patient of the deeper-seated, more insidious malady that threatens his well-being. The American physician differs in no respect from the rest of his countrymen. His aim is to produce direct and immediate results, to cut away the shackles that incapacitate his patient for the race. His patients are accustomed to expect much of him, and he does much—not infrequently too much. He is the most accomplished repairer in the world. He can tinker up a worn-out system and keep it running long after it should have been laid away for a thorough rest and a re-creation.

The specific ailments of American women not only manifest themselves locally, but they intensify these affections of the nervous system, and make more serious the train of nervous symptoms caused by the digestive disorders already described. For this American life of ours is far more wearing on women than on men. They take less exercise; they have, as a

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rule, more nervous organization; they are intensely affected by the strain. Two, or at the most three, children born, and the mother is a physical wreck, a curse to herself and a trial to those around her. She ages soon, far sooner than she should—a chronic invalid, she drags her weary days along. Oh, the pity of it! Yet the physician is almost powerless, he can but look on and grieve.

The children of these nervous parents inherit their weaknesses and are even more nervous than their progenitors, but their abilities are more keenly practical and their ambitions are higher. They are precocious and burn with a brighter fire that soon consumes them. Not infrequently, however, when the parents have been utterly "burnt out" before the little ones were born, the offspring are dull and stupid, or develop insane or criminal tendencies. The children of remarkably brilliant men are rarely noted for their abilities. That strength and virile power to which the children had the most sacred of claims, they have been robbed of by the rush, the struggle of our American life.

Not only does the American carry on his work under the spurs of food and climate, for this rich nitrogenous food of which he eats is a stimulant for a time; he has in the modern magazines and newspapers a mental spur constantly applied, the effect of which it would be impossible to overrate. For,—think of it a moment—every morning and every evening the sheets,—four pages, eight pages, sixteen pages—damp from the flying presses,—come to him filled with new thoughts, new events, new matter for the mind to dwell on. The experience of the world during the day is gathered that he may think. Facts ranging in importance from a block on the Elevated to the death of thousands of people by famine are there for him to read. New mercantile enterprises, many affecting his business, his profits, his very place in life, and his ability to support those who are dependent on him, give him subject for anxious thought.

The strain of all this, the stimulation of the mind which comes from it, would be something wonderful to us were we not so accustomed to it. The news alone is enough even if it be not personal. It devours a large part of our nervous force;—it is a fact that a portion of the strength we derive from our breakfast is expended while reading the morning paper. It is necessary in many cases to give the brain rest, to deprive it of the stimulant

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our modern life over-doses it with. "To my mind," said Dr. George F. Shrady to me once, "one of the chief benefits a patient may derive from a trip to Europe is to be found in the fact that there are no newspapers published on ocean steamers."

I find it somewhat difficult to convey to my readers the importance which the stimulation of the brain by newspapers assumes in my mind. I can, however, illustrate it by quoting what a patient of mine said to me once. She was suffering from a form of disease too common among American women. She had been telling me of the work her grandmother, who was the wife of a New England farmer, had been accustomed to all her life, and I said, jokingly, "It's a pity you have not got your grandmother's strength. One per cent. of such work would lay you up for a month." She looked at me for a moment and then said, "Do you realize that my grandmother never read anything except her Bible and hymn book?" The question suggested an idea to me that was new and I asked her what she meant. "Why," she said, "If I find in the paper in the morning some horrible story of a crime or disaster, it interests me very much. I am sorry for the sufferers. I seem to feel their pain in some way. Well, after such a story I have less strength for several hours. I find I must lie down and rest before I can begin my work for the day. It actually tires me out exactly as a shopping trip will tire me."

With the body nourished by rich food, the whole being stimulated by the climate, and the brain spurred on by the news of the world, let us see what this man, so nourished, stimulated, and driven, has done in his pursuit of material good. The following table shows the wealth of the United States and the wealth per capita on the dates given:

Date.	Aggregate wealth.	Per capita.
1850	$7,135,780,228	$308
1860	16,159,616,068	514
1870	30,068,518,507	780
1880	43,642,000,000	870

In thirty years' time, less than half the Biblical allowance of man's life, the United States has multiplied its wealth six times, and has nearly trebled that per capita. What energy, what work, what unceasing effort has been needed to bring about this marvellous result!

What can we do to retard this development of the brain and nerves at the expense of the body? Obviously it is impossible to change our surroundings, to change our food, to lessen the drive

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of our modern life, to relieve the strain on the mind, to make the competition less fierce. It is apparent, then, that as we cannot lessen the strain, we must increase the ability to undergo it. We must, as a people, learn to understand this : that while we drive the brain we must build the body. The methods of doing this are so simple that they are apt to be overlooked ; they may be summed up in two words,—exercise and fresh air. We must teach our children to exercise until it becomes a habit, a second nature, a something that when omitted causes real physical distress, and we must choose a form of exercise which is adapted to persons of middle age as well as to children.

The form of exercises which I should recommend is one of three, the dumb bells, Indian clubs, or the chest weights. Of the three the last is the best, because every muscle of the body can be worked with them. They should be a part of the furniture of every house, and the children should be given half an hour at them morning and evening. These children should be taught, too, to use them properly ; to exercise the muscles of the arms, thighs, abdomen and legs in turn. Out-door sports and recreative pursuits should be judiciously encouraged. One month, at least, in every twelve, should be spent in rest. Sundays and other holidays should be observed as days of rest and recreation.

Fresh air and exercise are of even greater importance for the girls than for the boys, if such a thing be possible. The girls will find their reward for the work when they become young ladies in society, in the bright eyes, clear complexions, stately carriage, graceful walk and perfect health which they will enjoy. More than that, when the time comes in their lives that they need all their strength they will find they have a reserve which will not fail them, and their children will be healthy and strong.

Build up the body, build up the body ! In our modern life, this should be dinned into the ears of all until it is obeyed, for, verily, unless we build up the body, the strain on the brain will ruin the American people. The very elements in ourselves that have made us great, the push, the drive, the industry, the mental keenness, the ability and the willingness to labor,—these contain in them the seeds of national death. No race may endure that has not the stamina and power of the healthy animal. The American race has run too much to brain.

CYRUS EDSON.

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THE ANTI-SLAVERY CONFERENCE.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY, THE BELGIAN MINISTER AT WASHINGTON,
ALFRED LE GHAIT.

Now that the recent ratification of the act of Brussels by the United States has happily become an accomplished and definite fact, I feel at liberty to give the readers of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW the requested general information regarding the character and purpose of this great work.

The suppression of slavery and of the slave trade carried on in the vast and unexplored territories of Africa has been a subject of solicitude for the civilized world for many years, especially since the generous action on the part of the American hemisphere. Numerous efforts were made to extirpate the scourge, but, unfortunately, in spite of all the treaties and conventions they were, necessarily, too individual and limited in their sphere of action to hope for efficient results.

When the Berlin Conference, in 1885, had put the African organization on an international basis and consecrated the work, initiated, since 1876, by the King of Belgium, by placing him at the head of an independent State in Africa, the dark veil covering this continent was to be torn; the benefits of civilization were to penetrate it; a free commerce of all the nations was to be inaugurated; but, before all, the *slave-trade*, with all its horrors, was to disappear.

When dawn approached on the social condition of this country, when the missionaries, the explorers, the first traders, returned to present to us the thrilling picture of thousands of victims succumbing almost daily to this outrageous hunt for man, a universal cry of terror rang through the civilized world; the heart of every Christian, of every free man, swelled with pity, and a charitable and humanitary crusade was preached everywhere. A moral obligation prevailed, in both the Old and New World, to hasten to the aid of a victimized race, to stretch out a fraternal hand to these human victims! It was felt that, before thinking of our

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material interests in those countries recently opened to cupidity, we must free them from the oppressing infamous yoke. Morality demanded this; prudence advised it, to assure universal commercial security.

The touching and persevering eloquence of Cardinal Lavigerie had moved the world for several years. The philanthropic and religious societies solicited the support of their generous efforts.

King Leopold—always at the head of movements of civilization—believed, in 1889, that the time had arrived for codifying and putting into practice the sentiment that touched every heart. He convoked, in accord with England, an international conference at Brussels for the purpose of establishing a common understanding among the powers, whose isolated efforts, or aspirations, had been powerless to efficiently prevent the horrors of the slave trade in Africa.

The enterprise was noble and generous, but gigantic and beset with great difficulties. There was a general accord as to the usefulness and necessity of the great aim, but a thousand obstacles obstructed the path.

England had outlawed the slave trade in 1807, and never ceased promoting its total abolition.

But it required nearly a century to convince the powers of the necessity of accord and of subordinating, in this matter, all other considerations to that of the welfare of an entire race. More than a hundred treaties were concluded for this purpose among the European, American and Asiatic powers. But what opposition had to be overcome, what interests to be conciliated, to obtain any action! The Congress of Vienna (1815) and of Verona (1822), the treaty of the Five Allied Powers (1841), with long negotiations concerning the right of search; the English treaties with the Sultan of Zanzibar (1873), with Egypt (1877), with the Ottoman Empire (1880), and, finally, the General Act of Berlin (1884–5), mark the stages of this great diplomatic work pursued concomitant with enfranchisement, the most memorable epochs of which are the years 1833 in England, 1848 in France, 1865 in the United States, and 1887 in Brazil.

The mandate of the Conference revealed in many respects a unique character, owing to the wide scope of its object, the age and diversity of acts and habits to be revised, the number of the powers interested, and, finally, the purpose in view. The legis-

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lation demanded in this Conference was not to be restricted to a single country, nor even to a group of States, but to the greater part of an immense continent, to a territory equivalent to twice the surface of Europe, increased by a large maritime zone in the Indian Ocean. It was to assist, in this vast area, a population of more than 125,000,000 of people subject to barbarities during hundreds of years.

The Conference was enabled to meet at Brussels on the 18th of November, 1889, in spite of political, economic, moral, and religious preoccupations manifested beforehand. Seventeen Powers were represented there, viz.: Germany, Austro-Hungary, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, the Independent Congo State, the United States of America, France, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, Persia, Portugal, Russia, Sweden and Norway, Turkey and Zanzibar.

The Conference had been able to assemble, because it posed before the civilized world on a question of honor to be determined whenever raised, and because, when the Powers had been convoked, it had been agreed upon that all discussion foreign to slavery and slave trade should be excluded from its programme, especially the political or territorial questions. The Powers were not to discuss their possessions or protectorates in Africa, nor to sanction them mutually.

It is of the greatest importance to declare that this Assembly has never departed from this programme during its protracted and intricate discussions, and that the General Act resulting therefrom is exclusively limited to the suppression of the slave trade and the restriction of the use of alcohol. The protocols III., IV. and XI. prove this, and this is the reason why all the Powers —even those possessing nothing in Africa and foreign to the politics of that continent—have been able to take part in the Conference and to ratify its conclusions. They understood, then, that they had not to do anything there—nor did they—but to cooperate in a purely humanitarian work, in the repression of revolting atrocities no longer to be tolerated in regions opening to free commerce.

The labors of the Conference continued from November 18, 1889, to July 2, 1890, but they terminated entirely only in April, 1891, by the complete understanding of all the Powers interested in reference to the means of carrying out their decisions.

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The Conference at Brussels closed its work by resuming its decisions in a *General Act* signed by the representatives of all the powers on July 2, 1890. It comprises one hundred articles divided in seven chapters. This General Act is completed by a *Declaration*, signed on the same day, furnishing (as will be seen later) to the powers having possessions in the zone exposed to the slave trade the means of carrying out the engagements entered into by signing the General Act.

The Conference, in elaborating its work, rigorously followed the march of the slave trade for the purpose of repressing it in every one of its features. It directs itself from the beginning, therefore, to the very heart of Africa, to the regions where the negroes are captured; it will then follow the transports of slaves toward the coasts and on the sea, to regulate there the action of the cruisers.

The Conference determined upon a number of means of action to protect the victims and punish the guilty. Such are the creation of offices of control, of liberation, and publicity; the regulation of the trade in spirituous liquors and arms; the creation of financial resources for facilitating the action of the governments on the territory where the traffic is particularly to be suppressed.

I shall not attempt to give here, even in a résumé, the description of all the articles of the General Act of Brussels. Those readers who want to examine them will find the English text in "Report 3,134" House of Representatives, Fifty-first Congress: "Slave Trade in Africa." *

Chapters I. and II. treat of the suppression of the slave trade in the localities of its origin and of the measures to be taken for the supervision of the roads taken by the caravans.

Chapter III. treats of an intricate point which gave rise to long discussions. It defines the general principles and the procedure for suppressing the slave trade on the sea, to the regulation of which matter forty-two articles are devoted. The right of search exists only for the powers bound by treaties in this respect. If the provisions of the General Act for repression on land and the supervision of the embarkations are fully carried out, this right is destined to lead, in a short time, to a new and universal administration regulating the concession of the flag and the verification

* Peuvent être également consultés avec intérêt les 2 volumes déposés à la Conférence, sur la traite des esclaves en Afrique et les actes internationales y relatifs.
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of the papers on board. Three principles will henceforward guide the intervention of the squadrons. Their supervision is restricted to a circumscribed zone of the eastern coast of Africa; it extends only to the vessels of less than 500 tons' capacity; the right of asylum, finally, is absolute for slaves, at least on board of the men-of-war.

Chapter VI. does not, apparently, apply directly to the purposes of the Conference, but it is nevertheless considered as a means of exercising a great influence on customs, morals, and, consequently, on civilization in general. It is admitted everywhere—and in the United States perhaps more than elsewhere—that the abuse of alcoholic beverages is the worst of destructive agencies.

The aim of the Conference, after having suppressed the odious traffic in slaves, was to bring, by pacific benefits, civilization to these unfortunate people, to elevate, gradually, their moral and intellectual level. The black race should neither be conquered, nor subjugated, but liberated, and called upon to participate with the white race in all the labors and privileges of free men. The Conference had, in order to reach this aim, to occupy itself carefully with the alcohol question. Importation, sale, and manufacture of spirituous liquors are, henceforth, totally forbidden in an immense zone, that from the 20th degree of north latitude to the 22d degree of south latitude.

This is a great triumph for the cause of civilization, and the representatives of the United States at the Conference have greatly contributed to it by their insisting upon absolute prohibition. The Conference was, however, compelled to make concessions for certain points of the African territory where the use of and commerce in spirituous liquors already exist, so that the protestations of countries dealing in alcoholic beverages in Africa had to be taken into account. A right of entry for fifteen francs per hectolitre, at fifty degrees (Centigrade), has been fixed upon for those limited regions; an equal right of excise has been imposed on manufacture. This tax may be increased to twenty-five francs after three years, representing about 100 per cent. of value. This tax is very high when compared with the buying capacity and the means of those who will have to pay for it. The greatest possible satisfaction has thus been afforded by the Conference to the desires expressed by the plenipotentiaries of the United States.

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The General Act of the Conference formulates, in establishing the general system of the work, the engagements acceded to by the independent States of Africa, or those of Europe having possessions there, for the purpose of attaining the humanitarian end generally pursued by all the powers. But these engagements required pretty heavy charges, duties, and responsibilities for certain states, for the benefit of all; the question was raised then in what manner these new expenses could be met.

The situation was particularly serious for the independent Congo State, which, owing to its geographical position, will have to support much more considerable charges than the others for combating the slave trade, it having been the focus of the slave trade for centuries. Owing to its being of a quite recent creation, it incurs greater obligations and has more limited resources than other countries which, being merely colonies, dispose of the resources of the mother land.

The delegates of the Congo State were thus forced to declare frankly in the Conference that their government—while enthusiastically accepting all the stipulations of the General Act—was not in a position to carry out the regulations, if financial measures were not adopted for supplying the means. The Conference recognized, unanimously, that, in consequence of the new obligations and charges imposed on the countries in the conventional basin of the Congo, it was just and necessary to authorize them (by revising Article IV. of the Act of Berlin in 1885) to impose duties on the importation of foreign merchandise.

This resolution of establishing duties was made the subject of a separate act, on the demand of the United States Government, which, not having adhered to the Act of Berlin, could not take part in the revision. It was signed on July 2, 1890, at the time when the General Act was signed by all the powers, except Holland, which did so afterward. This resolution was named the *Declaration of Brussels,* and forms an inseparable annex to the General Act, with the expectation that whoever desired the result should grant the means of obtaining it.

That declaration authorized the collection of very limited duties, not above 10 per cent. ad valorem, on merchandise at the port of importation, spirituous liquors being regulated by the special provisions spoken of above.

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But the declaration was not, in itself, a definite act; it had merely adopted a principle and fixed a maximum of 10 per cent. Customs tariffs had to be established in mutual accord on this basis. These tariffs have been definitely fixed upon—December 22, 1890, and February 9, 1891—both for the countries of the eastern and those of the western coasts of the conventional basin of the Congo. An examination of these tariffs shows that the maximum of 10 per cent. authorized by the Conference is stipulated for arms and munitions only; also that many articles are free of entry, and that as to the remainder the duty amounts only to from 3 to 6 per cent.

The United States, being the only state represented at this Conference that did not need a revision of the Act of Berlin, accorded the principle of establishing duties by signing, on January 24, 1891, a treaty of commerce with the independent Congo State. It obtains thereby the treatment of the most favored nations in its largest sense.

Such are the important advantages assured by the United States in all the states of the conventional basin of the Congo, in addition to its participation in the civilizing and humanitarian work of the Conference.

The sovereign king of the Congo State has, in consideration of the new tariffs, decreed the diminution of direct taxes and export duties; he has also taken liberal measures with a view of encouraging commercial transactions, to the benefit of all the nations.

I cannot refrain from pointing to the astonishing manner—unprecedented in the history of colonization—in which the work of civilization has been acknowledged and developed in the Congo, in consequence of the great insight, perseverance, and magnanimous disinterestedness of King Leopold.

If civilization penetrates rapidly in the Congo, it is due to the benefits of peace, commerce, and education, without the aid of iron, fire, or alcohol, and without shedding a drop of blood, except for the purpose of saving slaves from infamous kidnappers, and never with the intention of subjugating the indigenous race. The assured and grateful populations group themselves quickly around European posts advancing from region to region and forming centres which are to become cities; 15,000 kilometres of navigable ways have already been opened and used by a commercial fleet. The route of the caravans turning

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around the cataracts will soon be replaced by the railroad already being built. Modern and liberal institutions pervade the land and open it to the commercial rivalry of all the nations. Nothing of all this was to be seen six years ago, when the state was founded and intrusted to the sovereign direction of King Leopold.

The United States has always favored the young state; its sympathy was manifested at every opportunity in viewing the work of the great king in opening up the black continent to civilization. May the moral support given by the United States to the opening of these distant regions be compensated by the advantages it will not fail to obtain there in a population of more than fifty millions of inhabitants as an outlet to its coming exuberance of production!

The two acts of Brussels are now ratified by all the governments. These ratifications have been deposited at Brussels, except that of Portugal, which has not yet been able to present these acts to its Parliament, and obtained a delay up to April 2 for depositing its ratification.

The French Chambers have approved the General Act only, with certain restrictions. They eliminated, provisionally, the articles relating to the right of search, leaving them for an ulterior subject of arrangement between the powers interested. This temporary reservation (accepted by all the other signatory powers) does not modify in any way the provisions of the General Act, since they remain applicable to the other contracting parties in their primitive form.

The United States Senate has approved the treaty of January 24, 1891, and the General Act of Brussels, but it added the following proviso, not bearing on any special point of the act: "Resolved, further, as a part of this act of ratification, that the United States, not having in African territory any possessions or protectorates, hereby disclaims any intention, in adhering to this treaty, to declare any interest in such possessions or protectorates established by other powers, or any approval of the wisdom, expediency, or lawfulness thereof, and does not join in any expression in the treaty which might be construed as such a declaration."

The powers, having formally stipulated before meeting in conference that all ideas of sanctioning their possessions or protectorates should be excluded, have been able to accept with

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satisfaction the great reserve of the United States against a danger imaginary, and eliminated beforehand; and this reserve has been inserted in the protocol of the ratifications signed at Brussels on the 2d day of February, 1892.

Although traditional policy made the avoidance of any interference in political questions abroad with the European powers incumbent on the United States, yet their generous and liberal aspirations, their glorious antecedents, and even the blood they shed for the enfranchisement of oppressed races, inspired them with the desire and moral duty to join in the purely humanitarian act of the Brussels Conference.

The illustrious President of the republic, and the eminent statesman at present directing the foreign affairs of the country, understood from the beginning, with a prudent and patriotic insight, that the great American republic could not remain a stranger to this general uprising of the civilized world against the last horrors of barbarism. They sent skilled and zealous plenipotentiaries to the Conference, who strove for more than a year, with remarkable ability, to conciliate the interests and dignity of their country with the aims pursued in common by all the powers.

The names of President Harrison, of Blaine, Terrell, Sanford, Tree, and Sherman, will remain connected with the noblest, most generous, and philanthropic work of our century.

When a new era dawns on suffering humanity, and when the Conference at Brussels has done its work faithfully, it is but just to attribute a great part of its merits to the eminent statesman who presided over it and directed the long and arduous work with an ability and tact greatly appreciated by the representatives of all the powers, and who was always able to meet the many difficulties encountered in every stage of the proceedings.

Baron Lambermont many times saved the work of the Conference, as it became involved in serious difficulties. He displayed great subtlety, insight, prudence, and patience during those memorable debates, where so many divergent interests, diverse doctrines, inveterate prejudices, contended, and where it was so earnestly sought to conciliate the moral integrity and interest of modern civilization with the dignity, self-love, ambition, and material interests of the powers. The protracted and arduous negotiations leading to the ratification of the acts of Brussels by all the powers, in which he was the guide and con-

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stant intermediary, were to him a new field of hard work, in which he displayed the high qualities that had won for him long ago a universal reputation as one of the most eminent statesmen of our times.

The General Act of Brussels has been resolved upon in the cause of a supreme interest of humanity and justice. It is the expiation of the gloomy errors of past centuries, a renewed affirmation of the principle of freedom of all men; it is, above all, a promise of material and moral civilization for the unfortunate African population.

Allow me to say here, in conclusion, that Belgium is proud of her King, who has so nobly initiated, pursued, and accomplished such a work, and that she is grateful to those powers which honored her by signing in her capital an act which promises such gratifying consequences for coming times.

A. LE GHAIT.

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THE DEGENERATION OF TAMMANY.

BY THE HON. DORMAN B. EATON, EX-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES CIVIL-SERVICE COMMISSION.

TAMMANY, the Tammany Society, Tammany Hall, the Tammany Democracy, the Tammany Machine—whichever may be used to designate the most unique and enigmatical product of a cross between simple charity and corrupt politics—has more and more, of late, aroused the curiosity of the country. Its origin is as peculiar and interesting as its present character.

In 1783, William Mooney, an eccentric upholsterer of the then little city of New York, formed a society for aiding and burying its poor members, naming it, in part after an Indian chief, the "Tammany Society, or Columbian Order"—some mysterious order of civilization. Thus from the outset the society had in itself the conflicting elements of savagery and charity which it has never lost. In 1805 it procured a special law for its organization, in which are these words, declaring its only purpose: "For the purpose of affording relief to the indigent and distressed members of the association . . . and others who may be found proper objects of their charity."

From such an egg the huge crocodile of the municipal politics of our time has been hatched. The society was at first authorized to hold property of the yearly value of $5,000—a right enlarged, in 1867, to $50,000. No other change has ever been made in the charter. The Indian dominated in the official sphere from the outset, the chief officers being called Sachems, and the inferior being designated Wiskinski, Sagamore, or by equally barbaric names which yet survive. The civilized Christian prevailed in its little sphere of charity. Humbly, and innocently for a long time, the little society lived on. Politics had no place in its annals.

From a germ apparently so harmless there has been evolved the most mercenary and merciless despotism—the most extraordinary

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combination of the spirit of the Indian and the spoilsman known to municipal government. The society in the course of years secured a hall, funds, and an influential membership. The politicians saw their chances. But the leading politicians of Madison's time were not of the kind now known as Tammany politicians. Besides, in the slow descent of this society from the heights of charity to the spoils-system bog of Tammany politics, it was for a time in the sphere of manly human nature, where statesmen and honest, patriotic methods were possible. At that period, when it was first subordinated to party, its name is associated with statesmen and it had a part in contests for principle. But the debasement, once begun, could not be arrested, especially after the spoils system had become potential in New York politics. The congeries of local organizations—known as the Tammany primaries—and the secret, central, and despotic body by which the society has become enveloped, have a long time since made its character unimportant, save in this vital particular, that its sachems, whom its members elect, constitute, in whole or in the majority, that despotic and irresponsible junto by which the Tammany Democracy is governed, and in obedience to which the Tammany Machine is operated. These sachems—this junto—at whose will the leaders of the twenty-four Democratic primaries in the city hold their places—are beyond the control of the primary membership, which is many thousands. Powerless democracy and potential despotism—like the Indian and the Christian at the outset—are now in the most vicious and unnatural union. The relation between them is that which Frederick the Great said existed between him and his subjects. "They," he declared, "can say what they please, and I do what I please, and so we get on admirably."

Nothing is now heard of the Tammany Society. Yet I was not correct in saying that a generation ago—save in the matter of making its sachems feudal lords over the Tammany Democracy—it became unimportant; for it owns a vast building, including a great hall, where the delegates of the Tammany primaries hold their meetings and say what they please. The strange contrasts, everywhere seen in Tammany matters, appear in the use of this hall, it being about equally shared by Tammany delegates and Tony Pastor's low-comedy company.

Among the lamentable consequences of the debasement of the

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society from its once respectable to its present moribund condition are these—facts notorious in New York: that, for more than a generation, neither within the society nor in any one of the congeries of organizations by which its noblest life has been quenched, nor in all of them together, has there been produced, or brought forward, or steadily sustained even, one public officer, municipal or national, who could properly be designated a statesman, a patriot, or a public benefactor; nor have any of these bodies been the source or the strength of a single law, public measure, or policy, largely in the public interest, or which can justly find honorable mention in history; nor has one of them been prominent in aiding the repeal of any bad law or the suppression of any great evil. From none of these bodies or their leaders, so far as I am aware, has a single publication gone forth which can hold a respectable place in the literature of either politics or charity. The Tammany sphere, for a generation, has been one of intellectual and moral barrenness—of Lilliputs in usefulness, of Brobdingnags in rascality. Let no one cite that able, patriotic citizen, Abram S. Hewitt, or S. S. Cox, or Mayor Grace, to the contrary, for none of them sprung from Tammany, and each of them was opposed by it to the extent of its courage. That most active of politicians whom the official life of the Empire State has lately seen—and whom every reader will recognize—has been the only high officer since the days of Tweed and Barnard to whom Tammany has been constant.

It is this Tammany of to-day which, over the name of Mr. Richard Croker—sachem and champion—is introduced to the readers of this REVIEW in its last number. If in this article I found nothing I cared to answer separately, the relations of Tammany to the great problem of city government are so important I could not refuse a request for these pages.

Prudence would have suggested to Tammany the danger of bringing its affairs before the readers of this REVIEW—most of whom they have often disgusted—and the advantage of keeping its methods as dark and mysterious as that mongrel union has been between a charity society and a partisan faction for office and spoils. Yet, as Mr. Clarkson had come into these pages to defend the spoils-system methods which the Republicans had borrowed from Tammany, why should not the old offender himself be indulged in a like indiscretion? Coming here solely to

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apologize for Tammany,—in the very midst of an elaborate defence, and while its chieftain is unconsciously betraying a painful sense of the distrust of his readers,—he declares, with a curious simplicity, that he will make neither apology nor defence for Tammany, since to rush on and to fight its opponents, and not to explain or defend anything, is its genius and its mission.

This defence has the assurance to boast of the great age of Tammany—an age most of the years of which only make conspicuous those prostitutions and debasements at which its degenerate sons might more fitly blush. Yet, much as sneers at mere theorists and at rural virtue invite retort, such self-stultification should not be too severely criticised; for rare are the genius and attainments which fit one for the Tammany arena and for these pages. Our author's no-apology theory has caused him to do grave injustice to Tammany itself, against which I feel a duty to defend it. For, referring to the charges against it, he declares that if, in the last election, it had "defended or apologized," the Tammany Democrats would not, to use his phrase, "have fared anything like so well." That this view—which places Tammany sachems and the horde behind them on a level with gamblers, thieves, and pirates, who never apologize and who certainly would be injured by any attempt at justification—is just to the lower strata of Tammany followers, I cannot deny. Yet it is a cruel wrong to many above them. There are vast numbers of Tammany's voters who are disinterested and patriotic. Not a few,—even of those who run with the machine, and whose war-whoops in Tammany Hall would drown the voices of Tony Pastor's clowns,—knowing no better, are as honest as their sachem-chief in thinking Tammany a blessing to New York. The frenzy and blindness of party keep great numbers in its ranks who deplore its vicious theories and its corruptions. There are many men of character who reluctantly adhere to Tammany—let it not be asked how many from hope of office and profitable contracts—because they think the city Republicans are corrupt. Not knowing so well as the Tammany chief what corruption is concealed, they think explanations less dangerous than secrecy.

Tammany leaders are sagacious enough to comprehend, in part, the power of the higher public press and public opinion. From a fear of them they put some good men in office, and

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improved parks (Tweed did much of this) and streets, sometimes from better motives than the profits of spending vast sums.

Nevertheless, as a whole, the article is true to the Tammany spirit and theory, showing that organization, a crushing military discipline, adroit management of elections and voters, the tangible assurance of rewards, pecuniary and official, the love of contention and passion for victory—and not patriotism, nor principle, nor parties devoted to principle, nor any sense of public duty, nor public opinion—are, according to Tammany, the potential forces of municipal government. "Politics is war," says the article; and so it is in the hands of savage and venal partisans.

Such is the admiration of our author-chief for crushing discipline, municipal savagery, and mere success, that he says: "We cannot fail to admire the success, . . . the resistless power of the Jacobin Club, . . . because it was skilfully organized." The hordes of Tammany are partisan soldiers to obey leaders and earn their reward; not free citizens to discharge their duty.

Organization, and not education, success, and not improvement, victorious war, and not glorious peace, are presented as the supreme aims of Tammany. The regiment is the model for the Tammany primary, and the "six hundred charging down the valley of death" are cited as an inspiring example for city politicians. The ideal duties and relations of fellow citizens in city affairs are not those of peacefully considering them according to their nature as so much business to be done—the making and care of streets, buildings, and parks—or as so much discretion and trained skill to be exercised concerning schools, police, grog-shops, and public health,—with all of which quarrelsome partisan factions can have no relations but those of pernicious intermeddling,—but all these duties and relations are those of remorseless conflict, of partisan politics, and hence of endless war between hostile factions and camps. A more uncivilized, diabolic, and detestable theory of municipal government—one more destructive of municipal prosperity and morality—was never sketched.

As we read this sketch and imagine the great Indian chief, Tammany, with his paint and his feathers, leading his tribe to battle, we can see tomahawks gleaming between the lines and hear the war-whoop in the distance. It defends a despotism the king of Dahomey might envy, and a perpetual warfare over

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which the Yahoos and Sioux would whoop and dance for joy. It would be unjust to say that there is nothing but the didactic presentation of this theory of eternal and insatiable war. There is a variety as great as in the hues of a zebra or in the contents of a Bologna sausage. That bumptious and audacious, yet specious and soporific, oratory of which Tammany has a fountain, everywhere lubricates the merciless logic of the war code.

The spoils system is defended in its most despotic, repulsive, and vicious form. "All the employees of the city government," says our chief, "from the mayor to the porter who makes his fire, should be members of the Tammany organization." Hence, every poor laborer appealing for employment, and every youth seeking a clerkship, under the city, is without hope if he has not sworn fealty to Tammany and, we may add, paid bribe money to its treasury or its leaders.

If a young woman would be a public-school teacher, or a poor widow be a matron in a city hospital, she must accept Tammany's war theories and wield little tomahawks in its defence. Office, according to Tammany, is not a trust, but a commodity. Are we really living in a civilized age and under a free government?

Tammany is no party, and refuses allegiance to any. It has no principles or platform to pledge it to duty. It fights only for itself. It is most like the mercenary and partisan war clubs of Florence which led to a despot. Its governmental theory is simple. It counts absolutely on the ignorant, the venal, and the depraved voters, holding them with the adhesive and relentless grasp of an octopus. It never alienates the grog-shop keepers, the gamblers, the beer-dealers, the nuisance-makers, or the proletariat. Patriotism and a sense of duty count for nothing in its estimate of political forces. Party passion, selfishness, and hopes of victory and spoils are its supreme reliance. Its basis is as enduring as the selfishness and depravity of human nature. Thus, sure of a vast mass of voters, Tammany will go as far towards well-doing as it may without alienating that mass. Its chiefs and mercenaries are forever laboring to bring out this vote. I once battled a whole night with two Tammany officials to secure a fair count in a model Tammany district,—of ignorance and vice,—with the result of more than 700 votes for Tammany to less than 20 opposed. What a blessing

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inestimable it would be if Tammany would allow such voters to stay at home and forget the elections, as most of them would but for its bribery and coercion. Half the occupation of its chiefs and henchmen, if that liberty were allowed, would be gone.

What does history give us as the outcome from such a Tammany? Swartwout the collector, Price the district attorney, Fowler the postmaster, who together defrauded the nation of more than a million, were Tammanyites. The authors, in the days of Tweed, of the stupendous City Hall frauds, and the partisan rowdies and judges who foisted thousands as illegal voters upon the voting lists, were to a man Tammanyites. Tweed was a Tammany sachem; Connolly, who robbed the city treasury, Barnard, and the notorious judges who aided the work of corruption twenty years ago—these men—whose infamies filled two continents with the disgrace of the republic—were all Tammanyites.

If, of late, sterner laws and a more formidable press and public opinion have prevented offences so flagitious, yet the worst that has been done is the work of Tammany. It has caused the Civil-Service Law to be more feebly enforced in New York than in Boston or Washington. The aldermen who took bribes for a Broadway railroad charter were all Tammanyites. It has prevented New York from having a ballot reform nearly as effective as that of other States. Combining with the grog-shop keepers, Tammany has prevented excise reform in New York; and bills it has now pending at Albany threaten the most salutary restrictions, and may open Sundays and midnights to grog-shop debauchery. The fear of Tammany methods and of those who imitate them drove the World's Fair to Chicago. Tammany defeated that able and patriotic mayor, Hewitt, who stood for the commerce, the philosophy, the education, and the statesmanship of New York, and put in his place one unknown to any of these great interests. The degradation of the police courts has followed, unworthy men, utterly ignorant of the law, gaining seats there even more readily than under King John and the feudal lords of the thirteenth century; for his Magna Charta says: "We will not make any justices but of such as know the law and mean duly to observe it." Even worse than this; for Tammany now compels her candidates for judges, as well as other candidates for office, to, practically, pay in advance for their nomination, thus accumulating a vast fund by which leaders can be paid and voters

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bribed. Such is an independent Tammany judiciary! Such are our impartial judges! One shrinks from putting truths like these in print. It is to our shame that we tolerate such degradation, the account of which reads like extracts from the infamous histories of Charles I. and James II. Such is the Tammany of to-day. Is it any wonder that it has plenty of money for carrying elections, or that its chief thinks all attempts at defence or apology would be dangerous?

DORMAN B. EATON.

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THE WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.

BY THE DIRECTOR GENERAL, GEORGE R. DAVIS.

WHEN the gallant mariner, Christopher Columbus, landed from the "Santa Maria," October 12, 1492, and planted the standard of Spain upon the shores of San Salvador, he little appreciated the extent and significance of his discovery.

At that time nothing was more improbable than the formation of a vast republic in North America stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific and sweeping the commerce of both oceans. There were then in the nations of Europe, from which America was to be colonized, absolutely no materials from which such a product could be expected to spring. The democratic element was nowhere developed. Government by the people was an idea that did not even enter the human mind. The nations had scarcely begun to emerge from the darkness and barbarism of the middle ages; dense ignorance was the marked characteristic of the masses of the people. The learning of the times was monopolized by the clergy; the convents, monasteries, and clerical establishments were its repositories. The laity were hopelessly illiterate, and even kings were unable to sign their names to state documents, as the records prove. So far from governing in any part of Europe, the people were scarcely emancipated from slavery. They had been for ages bought and sold with the land they cultivated.

At the time of the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus, England was the only country in which the people enjoyed representation in the national legislation, and there they had a voice merely to legalize and authorize taxation for the benefit of the crown and the nobility. Spain had just been consolidated into one nation, under the government of Ferdinand and Isabella, and every energy had been strained to the utmost in the struggle for the expulsion of the Moors. In the new

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monarchy which was established the only representation the people had in the government was the deputations from the cities; but in those deputations it was the wealth of the city, and not the population, that was represented. The state of things was no better in France, where both kings and nobles united to oppose the people. They dared not trust them with arms, and chose rather to depend on foreign mercenaries for military defence than suffer the people to learn the secret of their own strength. Matters were still worse in the other nations of Christendom, to say nothing of the admittedly barbarous nations.

This unequal distribution of learning and political privilege in the nations of Europe would probably have continued indefinitely, had not the discovery of the new world by Columbus suggested to the oppressed people of the old world possibilities of emigration and enfranchisement from the grievous burdens of the feudal system by adding two continents to the geography of the world—a hemisphere for the overflow of Europe.

However this may be, it is a matter of history that colonists from the old countries flocked to America by thousands, and, settling along its eastern shores, laid the foundations of the civilization that to-day invites the nations of the world to the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893.

In giving a leading place to the discovery of America as the instrument of human enlightenment and progress, it is not my purpose to underestimate the importance to the world of the invention of printing from movable types and the long succession of inventions and discoveries of which it was the precursor and incentive. But Columbus was eleven years old when Peter Schaefer cast the first metal types in matrices, thus becoming the inventor of complete printing; he was about twenty when the first printed edition of the Bible was given to the world, and twenty-one when Maintz was taken and plundered, and the art of printing, in the general ruin, spread to other towns. Therefore, when we consider the international antagonisms, the difficulties of intercommunication, and the total absence of methods for the rapid diffusion of intelligence, it is easily conceivable that Columbus may never have perused a printed book or paper when he entered upon his career of discovery, which unfolded a hitherto unknown world and put in train the succession of marvellous results which

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followed. His discoveries served to stimulate the employment of the newly-discovered art of printing.

These two events—the invention of printing and the discovery of America—joined hands to lead in the grand procession of intellectual, moral, and material development. Parenthetically let me note the remarkable fact, not less interesting because of its being so well known, that, while so much is due to the invention of printing in the way of human progress along all lines, the method of type-setting by hand, as first adopted, has remained in vogue until the present day; but now the dawn of a new era to the printer is just at hand. The landmarks of progress along the journey from the middle-age darkness to the present light were at first few and far between (often retrogressive, but, when so, reactionary), gradually increasing in number and interest. We find the first printing-press in Copenhagen in 1493; Gama reaches India in 1498; musical notes first printed, 1502; Pope Leo the Tenth publishes his indulgences, 1517; Magellan's circumnavigation of the globe completed, 1522; the Copernican system published, 1530; the Pope of Rome issues his bull declaring the natives of America to be rational beings, 1537; Calvin founds the University of Geneva, and John Knox makes headway as a reformer in Scotland, 1539; pins first made in England, 1543; orange-trees introduced into Europe, the Diet at Worms and the discovery of the mines at Potosi, 1545; knives first made in England, 1560; Kew originates the game of billiards and Growse teaches the art of making needles to the English, 1556; the victory over the Turks at Lepanto won, 1571; carriages introduced into England, 1580; tobacco first brought to Europe, 1586; the first newspaper in England, 1588. Then a century more of progress brings us to the Revolution of 1688, and still another century to the death-bed scene of the "Last Pretender" in the mother land, and the election of George Washington as the first President of the United States.

George Washington in his last days was contemporaneous with the infancy of men still living. The world's progress at the time of his death had already been marvellous; yet, to borrow the language of Mr. Locke, the witty editor of the Toledo *Blade*,

"We don't like to be irreverent, but would like to ask, what did our forefathers know? What, for instance, did George Washington know? He never saw a steamboat; he never saw a fast mail train; he never held his

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ear to a telephone; he never sat for his picture in a photograph gallery; he never received a telegraphic despatch; he never sighted a Krupp gun; he never listened to the 'fizz' of an electric pen; he never saw a pretty girl run a sewing-machine; he never saw a self-propelling engine go down the street to a fire; *he never heard of* 'Evolution'; he never took laughing-gas; he never had a set of store teeth; he never attended an international exposition; he never owned a bonanza mine; he never knew 'Old Prob.' He—but why go on? No; when he took an excursion it was on a flat-boat. When he went off on a train it was on a mule train. When he wanted to talk to a man in Milwaukee he had to—go there. When he wanted his picture taken it was done in profile with a piece of black paper and a pair of shears. When he got the returns from the back counties they had to be brought in by a man with an ox-cart. When he took aim at the enemy he had to trust to a crooked-barreled old flint-lock. When he wrote it was with a goose-quill. When he had anything to mend his grandmother did it with a darning needle. When he went to a fire he stood in a line and passed buckets. *When he looked at a* CLAM *he never dreamed that it was any relation of his.* When he went to a concert he heard a cracked fiddle and an insane clarionet."

The remarkable thing about this humorous statement of fact is that had Washington lived half a century longer it would still remain almost equally true. Indeed, the world's progress since the middle of the nineteenth century has distanced all that had gone before, and the last four decades, beginning with the date of the first world's fair, have witnessed greater strides than all the previous years of the Columbian epoch combined.

To exemplify this development the world over, in all its details and ramifications, falls within the general scope and design of the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 at Chicago. The accomplishments of both sexes and of all ages, the researches of the "Challenger" and the "Talisman," of those that have plunged into the gloom of mid-African forests or scaled Himalayan summits or neared the frozen poles, are all included. It aims to present the achievements of mankind in man's dealings with the products and forces of nature, as by an exhaustive balance-sheet.

The Congress of the United States, deeming it advisable to commemorate the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America "by an exhibition of the resources of the United States of America, their development, and the progress of civilization of the new world," provided, in the act of Congress approved April 30, 1890, that such an exhibition should be held, and that it "should be of a national and international character, so that not only the people of our Union and this continent, but those of all nations, as well, can participate," and the recognition of its

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international character and purpose is evidenced in the President's invitation to foreign nations, and the acceptance of this invitation by nearly all the nations of the world.

There are sixty-two foreign nations and colonies which have already formally expressed a determination to participate in the exposition, and their appropriations approximate four million dollars. So far as it has been possible to comply with their pressing demands, space for exhibits has been assigned to all these countries in the departmental buildings, and sites in the exposition park have been set aside for their official pavilions and government headquarters. The United States Government has appropriated thus far one and a half million dollars, of which four hundred thousand is available for its building alone, in which will be illustrated the functions of the government in peace and war.

The agencies authorized by the act of Congress to determine the plan and scope of the exposition, and make all the necessary preparations and successfully conduct the same, were a National Commission, whose members are representatives at large and also of the States and Territories and the District of Columbia, appointed by the President of the United States, on the one hand; and, on the other, a corporation organized under the laws of the State of Illinois, entitled "The World's Columbian Exposition of 1892," which name was subsequently changed to "The World's Columbian Exposition," by which said corporation is now known. The former body, the World's Columbian Commission, in fulfilling the requirements of the act, has appointed a Board of Lady Managers. This latter body has been organized with a view to securing a comprehensive, interesting, and instructive exhibit of woman's work in all lands. This spirit on the part of the managers constitutes a striking commentary, and as gratifying as it is striking, on the change which time has wrought in the condition of women.

The limits of my space forbid an indulgence of the strong inclination I feel to dwell upon this feature of the exposition. A retrospect of some twenty-five centuries presents to view another historic exhibition in Media-Persia, lasting, like ours, "many days, even a hundred and fourscore days," of all the nations of the then known world, "one hundred and seven and twenty provinces," stretching "from India even unto Ethiopia." What a

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significant fact that this first of all recorded world's fairs should furnish the conditions out of which was developed a "lady manager" whose matchless tact and beauty, whose endowments of head and heart, have tinctured the poesy, the song, the romance, the pictorial art of all these intervening years!

The National Commission met and organized in the city of Chicago on June 26, 1890. The Board of Directors of the Illinois corporation finally tendered Jackson Park and the grounds adjoining as the site for the fair, which were accepted by the National Commission.

It early became evident that by reason of the constitution of these two bodies and the requirements of the act of Congress a conference between them was absolutely necessary in order to reach an understanding of the powers, limitations, and duties of each. A joint conference committee was therefore formed, consisting of eight members of each body, to take this vital question into consideration. The result of its deliberations was embodied in a report, afterwards adopted by both bodies in their separate capacities, defining their respective jurisdictions. This compact between the two bodies (the term by which it is generally known) outlines the plan of procedure for the harmonious administration of the affairs of the exposition, and provides that the work of the exposition shall be divided into great departments. It also provides that, to properly administer these departments, the director general shall appoint a head or chief officer for each, and all required subordinates. The appointment of these department chiefs must be confirmed by both bodies.

The departments thus constituted consist of the following: Department A, agriculture; B, horticulture; C, live stock; D, fish and fisheries; E, mines and mining; F, machinery; G, transportation exhibits; H, manufactures; J, electricity; K, fine arts; L, liberal arts; M, ethnology and archæology; N, forestry; O, publicity and promotion; P, foreign affairs.

Chiefs, or head officers, have been appointed to all these departments, and, with a single exception, have already entered upon their official duties. In selecting these chiefs the importance of securing the best available talent has been kept constantly in view, and they were chosen from amongst the noted men in their respective lines throughout the country at large. The importance of the interests they have in charge may be

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partially gathered from the plan and scope determined upon for the exposition, by which it was found necessary to erect magnificent and commodious buildings for each exhibit department, in addition to those required for administration offices and for the Board of Lady Managers, covering in the aggregate upwards of one hundred and thirteen acres, and, including stables for live stock, over one hundred and fifty-three acres. This obtains with all the departments, with the exception of the departments of manufactures, liberal arts, and ethnology. These three are joined in one magnificent building covering something over thirty acres.

A brief summary of some of the exhibits designed for a few of the exhibit departments will serve to illustrate the importance of each, and perhaps give a faint conception of the extent of the combined whole.

Take, for one example, the Department of Transportation Exhibits. For the first time in the history of world's fairs, the science of transportation in its broadest sense will have that attention to which its importance entitles it. The development of modern transportation, having had its beginning within the lifetime of men now in the vigor of manhood, has been so rapid that its significance is hardly yet understood. Yet its early history is fading out of sight, and in a fair way to be utterly lost. Judged by its relations to the every-day life of the world, no other industry surpasses it in utility or as a power in the progress of civilization. Considered from the standpoint of the amount of capital invested, it overshadows every other industry. It has been stated by eminent authority that the world's whole stock of money of every kind —gold, silver, and paper—would purchase only one-third of its railroads. Add to this the shipping of the world and all the means of conveyance from place to place throughout the world, and the interests represented in this department of the World's Columbian Exposition can readily be imagined. It falls within the plan and scope of this department to exhaustively present the origin, growth, and development of the various methods of transportation used in all ages and in all parts of the world. The means and appliances of barbarous and semi-civilized tribes are to be shown by specimen vehicles, trappings, and craft. Water craft, from the rudest forms to the modern giant steamship ; wheeled vehicles, from the first inception of the idea to the latest development of the luxurious palace

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car, will be illustrated by the machine itself, or, in cases where this is impossible, by accurate models, drawings, plans, and designs.

By keeping the historical feature clearly in view, the greatest exhibition of the actual means of transportation employed throughout the world to-day will stand out by contrast in high relief, and the wonderful achievements of later years will bear testimony to the genius of the age in which we live.

A large number of the leading railways of the world will make exhibits of their roadbed, track, and equipment; and even cities owing their existence to transportation influences will be represented by elaborately-prepared models. Nothing will be overlooked bearing on the subject of transportation, terrestrial, aquatic, or aërial.

The building for the display of the exhibits of this department is located on the western bank of the lagoon surrounding the beautiful wooded island which occupies nearly the centre of the exposition. It is surmounted by a cupola reaching a height of 165 feet. Eight elevators will run from the centre of the main floor to the balconies surrounding the cupola, at heights of 115 and 118 feet. The view from the observatory will be beautiful in the extreme, and will give visitors an excellent comprehension of the whole plan of the exposition grounds at a glance. The total floor space devoted to the interests of this department, including the *entresol*, amounts to nearly nineteen acres. The annex will open into the main building in such a manner as to afford long and striking vistas down the main avenue and aisles.

The giant among the mammoth buildings on the fair grounds is that devoted to manufactures and liberal arts. Presenting a floor space of thirty-one acres, and including galleries encircling the interior, it will afford in the aggregate some forty-four acres of exhibit space. It is the largest building ever contemplated or erected for similar uses. This vast structure will be covered with an arched roof of steel and glass, affording ample light and ventilation. Broad avenues and other conveniences will be provided generously for the comfort of visitors. Galleries will encircle the interior, overlooking Lake Michigan, the government buildings and grounds, the pier, and the surrounding exhibition, State, and foreign buildings, presenting to the spectator a scene of unparalleled beauty and magnificence.

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The exhibit of the Department of Manufactures is destined to be one of the very greatest interest, embracing, as it does, the products of the machine and man's unequalled handiwork in every form and design. A mere enumeration of the beautiful and useful works to be exhibited here would require a volume, and cannot be attempted. The constantly increasing interest among our home producers, and the ever-growing rivalry of inventive genius in the way of improved machinery, will be amply illustrated, and will form one of the most interesting and instructive features of the exposition.

The field of the Liberal-Arts Department is a broad one, covering nearly every phase of the higher development of the race. It includes education, literature, journalism, government and law, civil engineering, public works and architecture, hygiene, sanitation, medicine and surgery, commerce and trade, all processes of precision, research, and experiment, music and the drama.

The importance of these subjects has been recognized in the scheme for this department, which surpasses in scope and range all previous attempts. In this scheme the subject of education naturally takes a leading place ; perhaps no single interest in any department is more worthy of adequate showing. Fourteen million pupils and four hundred thousand teachers, four hundred and fifty-two million dollars of school property and capital invested in education, are here to receive due consideration. The most complete showing of the educational system of the country that has ever been attempted is proposed ; the programme covering the entire field of primary, secondary, and superior education. It provides for an exhaustive illustration of the methods of instruction in all grades, from the kindergarten up to the colleges and universities.

A section of this department of great interest will be that devoted to music. The history and theory of music will be illustrated, showing the music of primitive people, crude and curious instruments, music books and scores, portraits and biographies of great musicians, church music ; and the sacred music of all periods will be represented, as well as the ballads, folksongs, and national airs of all lands. The display of musical instruments will eclipse all previous attempts. It will cover everything from the mouth-harp to the pipe-organ.

In addition to the space given to liberal arts in the great

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building already described, an immense music-hall will be erected for the use of this department, in which will be given concerts, recitals, oratorios, and other entertainments during the progress of the exposition.

The Department of Horticulture will embrace the most elaborate and complete classification of its peculiar interests ever presented, arranged in the most comprehensive manner, to display all rare and choice fruits and plants of the earth. Tropical fruits and berries of the central latitudes will be abundantly exhibited, and varieties or species not obtainable at certain seasons will be represented by wax or plaster-cast imitations. Fruits, dried, canned, glacéd, preserved by chemical or cold-storage appliances, manufactured into jellies, jams, or marmalades, will illustrate the most approved means of conserving surplus products. Methods of crushing and expressing juices of fruits will be shown, and literature and statistics will form an instructive feature of the exhibit. So much for the pomological group.

Equally interesting will be found the viticultural, the floricultural, the culinary vegetable, the arboricultural, and other groups. The floricultural alone will consist of twenty-five classes, embracing plants and flowers from all countries, and will undoubtedly surpass any previous display of its kind. The orchidaceæ will be one of the principal features, and, together with the palms, cycads, ferns, aroids, and other tender exotics, will be collected in the magnificently-proportioned Horticultural Hall, while the out-door display will comprise a profusion of beautiful flowers and plants, rhododendrons, roses, and herbaceous plants. Dahlias, improved cannas, gladioli, and irises will play an important part in embellishing the grounds. Examples of unique and beautiful designs in budding plants will be illustrated by artists in this specialty. Superintendents of public parks in most of the large cities at home and abroad have already signified their intention to compete for honors.

In addition to a building one thousand feet long by two hundred and fifty feet wide, surmounted by a dome one hundred and thirty-five feet high, to be devoted to exhibitions of both fruits and plants, the wooded island, the most beautiful natural feature of the exposition park, will be wholly devoted to an out-door display of flowering plants and shrubs.

The chief of the Department of Fine Arts has been abroad

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for many months visiting the galleries of all the nations of Europe, and paving the way for a display which promises a higher degree of excellence than any ever before achieved at any exhibition of fine arts.

American art in every department received a new impulse from the Centennial Exposition of 1876, and it will be a special aim here to show the extent of the advancement made in American art work during the intervening sixteen years. It will be the endeavor to make a retrospective exhibit of American paintings, representing each artist who has achieved prominence by characteristic work, all of which will show the changes in the production and methods of our art and the development of the various "schools" of expression. But however much we might desire to see American art take the foremost position in this great concourse of nations, it must be frankly admitted that our guests will stand at the head. Contemporary art will be represented on a scale not at all understood as yet by the nations themselves or by our own public. A single illustration will suffice. At the Centennial the total of wall space devoted to fine art was one hundred and twenty thousand square feet. The government of France alone has applied for and will admirably fill wall space to the amount of seventy-five thousand square feet in the World's Columbian Exposition.

One leading object of the department is to form a collection of art works which shall be in the highest degree interesting and instructive to the visitor to the exposition—such a collection as will give one a higher appreciation of art and a desire for further knowledge, which may be satisfied by a study of the collection; such a collection, also, as may enable one to become acquainted with the characteristics of the best art of all nations, induce comparison, and develop critical judgment.

Space will not permit further details, but these examples, taken at random, and by no means the most interesting, will serve to give some faint idea of the prospective colossal proportions of the exposition as a whole.

All the several departments are well advanced with their work, and applications for space already received warrant the assurance that the exhibits to be displayed will in every respect be equal to the expectations of the people and commensurate with the dignity and honor of the occasion.

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The Department of Publicity and Promotion and that of Foreign Affairs are purely administrative. The former was organized about the middle of December, 1890, and the scope of its functions includes the preparation of matter and furnishing of reliable information for the daily press and all other kinds of publications, domestic and foreign; the preparation and distribution of maps and a variety of pictorial illustrations; the stimulation of congressional, legislative, corporate, and individual action favorable to the interests of the fair; the supply of stationery and printing for the use of the exposition authorities and agencies; and a preservation in an orderly, comprehensive, and available form of the evidence of the results accomplished by all the agencies of the exposition, not only at headquarters, but throughout the whole world. It is a novelty in the history of world's-fair organization in that its scope is so greatly enlarged as compared with that of any previous agency organized for the exploitation of a world's fair, and the results attained justify the anticipations which led to its creation.

The Department of Foreign Affairs bears relation to the director general of the exposition somewhat similar to that which the Department of State bears to the President of the United States. It conducts all correspondence with foreign governments and their commissions; it has charge of matters pertaining to the procurement of foreign exhibits, and superintendence of all agencies engaged in securing such exhibits and interesting all people beyond the boundaries of the United States.

The Board of Directors of the corporation known as the World's Columbian Exposition assumed the responsibility of preparing the exposition grounds and constructing the buildings. The board, at an early period of its existence, created a committee, designated as the Grounds and Buildings Committee, to which this important work was assigned, appointed a chief of construction, and constituted a Board of Architects. Plans were prepared, submitted, discussed, and duly approved. The work, once inaugurated, has been pressed with notable vigor, and marvellous progress accomplished. All the great buildings are under contract and in process of construction. A complete transformation has resulted in the appearance of the grounds. The work has been pushed day and night, and thousands of workmen are kept constantly employed. Some of the buildings are already

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under roof, and all are so far advanced that assurance can now be positively offered that the grounds and buildings will be ready on time and in every way satisfactory. When completed, the exhibits installed, and the seven hundred acres of ornamented park, with its city of palaces devoted to exposition purposes, all thrown open to the public, there will be presented to the vision of the beholder a scene of grandeur and beauty and activity the like of which has not been witnessed in all the cycles of time.

Beautiful and imposing as the exposition on the borders of the beautiful Lake Michigan will be, the most interesting feature of the fair, to many, will be Chicago itself. Of all the wonders of the world Chicago stands out alone, unexampled and without a peer, a youthful giant among cities, with its business quarter, its traffic lively beyond description, its wide streets, and colossal palaces built of steel and stone, completely fireproof, and rising ten, twelve, sixteen, yes, over twenty stories—prodigious beehives of earnest humanity.

Men still live who were prominent in founding Chicago, and these men now behold, instead of the open and unsettled prairie of their youth, a city of a thousand streets and a million and a quarter inhabitants. The engineer still lives who surveyed the first line of railroad into Chicago, and now more than forty railroads centre in this queen city, situated in the heart of this vast continent, a thousand miles from Hell Gate and twice that distance from the Golden Gate. Chicago is the chief centre of the entire railroad system of the United States. Fifty thousand miles of railway, representing capital of over two thousand millions of dollars, are largely dependent upon Chicago, and the history of the building and development of these roads sounds like a fairy tale. On a single one of these tributary systems four hundred and fifty passenger and eight hundred freight trains now move daily. A single corporation controls over seven thousand miles of line—the greatest number of miles of railroad under one management in the world. A single general manager, with headquarters in Chicago, can marshal railway rolling-stock in greater number than the number of men that Grant could muster on the left bank of the Mississippi the day he set out on his matchless campaign south of Vicksburg, or that responded to Sheridan's rallying trumpet-call at Cedar Creek, or sprang forward at Wellington's "up and at 'em" at Waterloo.

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Chicago is surrounded on all sides by a complexity of navigable rivers, canals, and lakes which connect it with tidewater at widely divergent points, and it is, moreover, the centre of a network of railway systems which embrace all portions of the North American continent. Her wide streets cross each other at right angles, looking on the east out upon the broad blue surface of Lake Michigan, and in every other direction leading into splendid parks and wide, shady boulevards which surround the city as with an emerald girdle. No other city in America can show such a large number of public parks. Space forbids an extended reference to her schools, her churches, her theatres, her elevators, her water-works, her foundries, her rolling mills, her manufactories, her wholesale houses, her stockyards, and other features in endless variety.

And this great central city of the foremost nation of the Columbian Hemisphere has already provided over ten millions of treasure in aid of the International Exposition designed to fitly commemorate the epic-inspiring and epoch-producing achievement of the peerless discoverer, and to make our government the munificent host at a peaceful fête of nations whose splendors will outshine all that has yet passed into history.

GEO. R. DAVIS.

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SPENDING PUBLIC MONEY.

BY THE HON. T. B. REED, EX-SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, AND THE HON. W. S. HOLMAN, CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS.

I.—APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE NATION.

BY THE HON. T. B. REED.

WHEN the charge was made during the campaign of 1891 that the Fifty-first Congress was a Billion-Dollar Congress, the complete reply, the best in kind ever evoked, was that this is a Billion-Dollar Country. The answer had both wit and wisdom. The Fifty-first Congress voted a billion of dollars because the citizens of this country, who are the rulers of it, demanded it by reason of the growth of the country and by reason of certain issues which had been fought out, settled, and determined by them.

The word economy has a pleasant and satisfying sound, and there are those who think that they can, by pronouncing the word often enough, make seventy-five cents do the work of a dollar, and thereby safely stint the honest and needed expenses of a great and growing country. Nobody disputes the virtues any more than they do mathematics. Economy, the just adaptation of expenditures to national needs, requires no more proof than that two and two make four. Nobody believes in spendthrift government, in the waste of money, or the throwing of dollars out of the window. You could no more justify national extravagance than you could justify the breaking of the ten commandments. But while we are all agreed in the praise of any virtue, it does not follow that we all have it, or even that all of us understand what it is. Not every one who cries "Lord, Lord," enters into the kingdom. Not every one who cries "Economy, Economy," on all the housetops, is necessarily more virtuous than his neighbors.

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There are, moreover, several things which are called economy that are not economy at all. Penny wise may be pound foolish. To build fine public buildings, and then make every one who goes into them long to behold signs of the activity of the scrubbing-brush is no more economy than it is cleanliness. To let a navy rot, and build nothing in its place, is not economy. It is only stupidness. To leave great cities undefended, liable to pillage, to leave wide open great opportunities for national disgrace, which it might cost uncounted millions to wipe away, is neither economy nor sense. To clamor loudly all through a session for a service-pension act and an arrears-of-pensions act which would have cost $200,000,000, and then go about the country denouncing the pension extravagance of a Congress which voted only $40,000,000, is not a sound preaching of economy or a very startling exhibition of common honesty. It is singular how much more effective an epithet is than an argugument. Mouth-filling abuse is much more powerful than mind-filling demonstration. All over the country the Democracy have girded at the last Congress because it wasted money, and yet no Democratic convention has ventured anywhere to specify a single item where money was wasted or the sin of extravagance committed. There was no charge of robbery, of undue influence, or bad conduct; only one loud outcry about the Billion Congress. Appropriation bills, however, are not passed on party lines; and yet, to hear the loud talk made on the stump, one would hardly imagine that some of the loudest-voiced economists of to-day had tried to increase the billion by at least $100,000,000 more.

It has probably escaped the attention of the country that Judge Holman, who is the new chairman of Appropriations, and from whom great things are expected in the way of economy and diminished expenditure, himself voted for the service-pension amendment which Mr. Springer, the new chairman of Ways and Means, advocated, explaining that the cost would be but the bagatelle of $144,000,000 per annum. If you look over the list (page 4,062, *Cong. Record*, Vol. 1, 1st Sessn., Fifty-first Cong.) of those who voted for this increase over and above what even a Billion Congress would do, you will find the name not only of Judge Holman, of economists the chiefest among ten thousand, but of the cheerful Governor of New York, a very possible Democratic candidate for the Presidency of the United States.

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Now that the responsibility of making up the appropriations has fallen upon the Democrats themselves, they are looking about in much consternation to find some way of not paying the bills of "a Billion-Dollar Country." As they look about them and see the growing land and its growing wants, they think that some special machinery must be adopted to prevent their vast majority, every one of them an economical Democrat, from doing exactly what the wicked Republicans have done. Hence they have already had careful tables prepared which show that, when the Appropriations Committee was forced to let two bills pass into the hands of other committees, our expenses rose instantly by the astounding sum of one cent—one cent—for each and every citizen; which ought clearly to have shown to the discerning, economical patriot that that way danger lay. It is sad to say, however, that no heed was paid to the warning, and, therefore, in time the Committee on Appropriations had the Consular and Diplomatic Bill taken away, and also the Naval Bill, the Army Bill including the Academy Bill, the Indian Appropriation Bill, and the Post-Office Bill. Each of these bills was intrusted to another committee. A tabular statement and due calculation show that since this was done there has been an increase in appropriation of forty-eight cents per capita, without including pensions.

It is needless to say that this calculation was put forth by the Committee on Appropriations, which desired to regain its lost power—a power which used to be almost absolute, not only over the expenditures of the government, but over almost everything else. In the old days, before Mr. Morrison and Mr. Carlisle determined to lessen the greatness of Mr. Randall, whom they did not quite venture to dethrone, the chairman of Appropriations, by skilfully manœuvring his bills, could control the House in spite of the Speaker and of all other leadership. But Mr. Carlisle and Mr. Morrison would not have been able to strip the Committee on Appropriations of its bills merely because they wished to deprive Mr. Randall of power. Behind them and behind the movement were the growing needs of the country. When economy is carried to extreme and becomes parsimony, it is only a hindrance and a stumbling-block instead of a virtue. In 1885 economy had become parsimony, and the real needs of the country had been repeatedly sacrificed to a mere show of figures. So bad had the practice become in this race for popular favor by claims of

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economy that the House under Democratic management repeatedly refused to put into its bills appropriations which had to go there in order to carry on the government. The Senate was then obliged to insert these necessary items, and endure, in the next campaign, the charge of extravagance, because the figures of a Democratic House were increased. This habit was kept up even after the Democrats had possession of the Executive Department, and the Republican Senate was obliged to insist that the Democratic Executive should have money enough to carry on the government. This conduct on the part of the House called forth a most vigorous rebuke from Senator Beck, who was too honest a man to aid this economic fraud.

In other ways the need of a change became manifest, and the House, which was Democratic, ordered the change because it wanted less restriction and more freedom in its appropriations. In other words, the new committees of appropriation are not the cause of the appropriation increase, but the result, or, more exactly, the medium by which the result was attained. The House, representing the country, wanted larger appropriations, and took the proper course to obtain them. Since that day no one has seriously proposed to go back to the old way. The result has been larger appropriations. I imagine that if a sensible and judicious man were asked if he approved of larger expenditure, he would answer, if the country needed it, yes, and if it did not, no; and that the only test was, not the total, but the items. If the items are all good, the total cannot be bad. A large total does not prove extravagance, and a small total does not argue economy.

Economy is not the withholding of money. Economy is not necessarily decreased expenditure. There are times when the wisest economy is large expenditure. In the quaint language of Scripture, "There is that scattereth and increaseth yet more, and there is that withholdeth more than is meet, but it tendeth only to want." I might further illustrate this subject by what has frequently occurred in railroads and has cost the simple people much hard-earned money. A railroad may be so economically handled as to ruin it. Railway managers quite often seem to be managing the road wonderfully. According to the bookkeeping, economy reigns triumphant, the road pays fat dividends, and the percentage of cost of running becomes phenomenally low. Every-

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body who does n't know any better thereupon praises the manager and buys the stock; but the wise man, who has previously suffered, gives both a wide berth. He knows that the road is running down, and that a day of new rails, of new sleepers, and new rolling-stock, and vast expenditures of money is at hand. He does not buy the stock. He leaves that for the fools who pass on and are punished. There are tricks in all trades, even in railroading; perhaps I shall shock somebody if I add even in politics. I have seen a judgment of the Supreme Court of the United States thrown out of an appropriation bill because a patriot wanted economy in the totals. Of course some other year had to pay. In the long run the United States has to pay most of its honest debts, but it usually costs the party something which does it.

While I think it probable that the distribution of the appropriation bills among the various committees which now hold them may somewhat facilitate the desire of the country that whatever is really needed for the development and government of the people of the United States should be expended, I am not at all sure that the same increase in appropriations would not have taken place had the old committee remained in charge of all the bills. The bills which they have retained show the same or a similar degree of increase, and the Pension Bill keeps pace with all the rest. It ought also to be added that there can be no more absurd test of increase than the per-capita test. To say that we ought at all times to expend the same amount per head is to ignore all increase of wealth and all growth in the wants of the people. Whatever the government expends is largely for the whole people, and all the facts show that everywhere a gradual increase in money per head is spent all over the world for the general good. Twenty years ago our cities were proud of their gas lights, and now, at increased cost, they demand at night almost the brightness of noon.

In 1860, New York State, with a population of 3,880,735, expended $4,376,167, or at least raised that sum in taxes. That was one dollar and seventy cents per capita. In 1889, with a population of six millions, the expenditures were seventeen millions and a half. In 1860, one dollar and seventy cents per capita seemed enough. It takes three dollars for each citizen in 1890.

Lest it should be supposed that this also is Republican extravagance, I add that in New York city, where the Democratic

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majority is colossal, and where true economy must reign, if anywhere, a population of 814,000 required the expenditure of $3,385,000, or four dollars for each and every citizen, in 1860; while in 1890 a population not twice as large expended thirty-three millions, or ten times as much. Four dollars was enough in 1860 to protect every citizen, to give him streets and parks and keep them clean, to prevent every other citizen from assaulting him, to light him to bed, and otherwise to be a father to him. Since that time the city of New York has found out so many ways of being really useful to the citizen of New York that twenty dollars by the year, economically administered, is spent for his good.

From these examples—and I presume any State in the Union can produce parallel figures—it will be seen that the increase of expenditures of the United States, large as they are, are in no way out of proportion to the increase in those States and cities enjoying true Democratic economy.

It is not, of course, possible in this article to explain fully the causes of increase, nor is it desirable to display statistics, which everybody avoids. Nevertheless, a few figures will show the nature of the increase made by the last Congress, and will show also what we must expect from the present one.

The increase in the annual appropriations for 1890–91 over those of the preceding fiscal year was, in round numbers, $75,000,000. The large items which went to make up this sum were five in number and easily understood. Of this sum, $25,000,000 was for the River and Harbor Bill, which had the sanction of both parties, and which is likely to increase hereafter with the growth of the country. Three millions went for coast defences. If there should be a war, the only complaint likely to be made is that such an increase was not made long ago. Thirty-four millions of increase was made for pensions, and five millions for extra deficiencies which the last House ought to have paid. Two and a half millions were added to the naval appropriations to enable the Navy Department to commence to build the big ships which were needed to complete our naval defences according to the scheme which had been approved by the department under all administrations. Five millions five hundred thousand more were imperatively demanded for the needs of the postal service, and so readily were its claims recognized that the Postal Bill which

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carried $72,000,000 went through the House with the approval of all parties in half as many minutes as there were millions. The appropriations for the next year were still further increased by about $40,000,000, which increase justifies itself as effectually as any that was ever made. Of this sum, $8,500,000 was devoted to the payment of money due the Indians, some of which debts were contracted to open up to settlement the fertile acres of Oklahoma; to build ships $7,000,000 more was used, and $36,000,000 for the pensions voted the year before. Five additional millions for the postal service at once justify themselves, and, by showing the growth of the country, make good some other expenditures, including part of the increase of eight millions in the Sundry Civil Bill. All these items together amount to $69,000,000; but as there was no River and Harbor Bill, the net increase was only about $40,000,000.

It will be seen that by far the largest item of increase for the two years, amounting in all to seventy-five millions of dollars, was for pensions and pension deficiencies. In fact, if you add to the figures already given the pension-deficiency items passed by the second session of the Fifty-first Congress, you will swell the total increase so that there will be hardly anything left to charge extravagance to; perhaps not even the seven millions for ships and the ten millions for increase of postal facilities. Whatever be the judgment of any citizen as to the propriety of the increase by forty millions of our pension expenditures, he will be much less inclined to blame the then dominant party if he will but read the debate in volume 19 of the *Record* of 1891, at page 3,118 or thereabouts, and find that the only complaint the present chairman of Ways and Means had to make against the appropriation was that in giving the soldier forty millions instead of one hundred and forty millions we were giving him too little. "They ask for bread, and you are giving them a stone," was the emphatic language of Mr. Springer before he became steadied by responsibility.

The blame of the candid citizen will be still further mitigated when he turns to page 4,062 of this interesting volume and finds that Mr. Holman showed by his vote that he thought that the appropriation of forty millions was too small by the large sum of one hundred and four millions, and that the sanction of his highly economical name is attached to the proposition that the Republicans were too niggardly by a round one hundred millions of

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dollars. Undoubtedly Judge Holman will be somewhat less ready to vote large sums when he has the responsibility, and he will be the less ready while in the majority to urge large appropriations than when he was in the minority.

Growth of expenditures has not been confined to Republican rule. In 1880, the last year of the Forty-fifth Congress, the appropriations were one hundred and ninety millions. In 1882 they were two hundred and eighteen millions—an increase of twenty-eight millions. In 1885 one hundred and ninety-five millions were the total, while in 1887 two hundred and sixty-three millions were called for, and both these sums were appropriated while Mr. Randall was at the head of the committee in charge. At the end of the Fiftieth Congress twenty-three millions more had been added for 1890, making in all an increase of ninety-one millions from 1885 to 1890. The increase from 1888 to 1890 was thirty-eight millions. During these last two years there were no additional pensions. The increase from 1890 to 1892 was one hundred and sixteen millions. But when you take out seventy-five millions increase of pensions, and also the pension deficiencies saddled upon us by the House Democracy, you will find a gratifying improvement even in "retrenchment and reform" over the last two years of Democratic control.

Thus far the question has been considered on the basis of amounts appropriated; but this is no test whatever of either economy or expenditure. Amounts appropriated for deficiencies, instead of being charged to any first session of a Congress, ought to be charged to its predecessor. It is one of the common insincerities of "economy and reform" in both parties to refuse what is needed before election and pay it the next session. This artifice serves a double purpose. It exalts your own virtue and brings into bolder relief the wickedness of the enemy. As a striking example of how the people may be misled by simply comparing the amounts appropriated, take the figures of 1884 and 1885. On the face of them, the Republican Congress in 1884 voted two hundred and thirty-one millions, and its Democratic successor only voted one hundred and ninety-five millions —a plain triumph of virtue to the extent of thirty-six millions. Yet if you will look at the figures for pensions of both years and the year previous, you will see that the Republicans in 1884 and 1883, owing to a miscalculation of the Pension Office,

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had appropriated eighty-six millions for pensions, whereof a large surplus was unused. Of this the Democracy had the benefit the next year, and so had to appropriate only twenty millions for that object. This enabled them, before the unthinking, to score a victory for retrenchment and reform of thirty-six millions. The other thirty millions, which were a real increase of expenditure, were concealed in the totals, though plainly visible in the items.

A River and Harbor Bill of fourteen millions was lost in that total, as were also increases of five and a half millions for postal service, five millions of extra deficiencies, and seven millions of "miscellaneous." In other words, to use epithets instead of argument, the total shows thirty-six millions of retrenchment and reform, while the facts show thirty millions of extravagance and prodigality. All four epithets, however, are equally absurd. The increase was needed, was made, and ought to have been made.

When you examine the figures of the last two Houses—one Democratic and the other Republican—and charge off to each the rebates which belong to each, you will find that the last Democratic House voted the expenditure of $838,017,972, just $85,978,813 more than its predecessor, also Democratic; that the last Republican House voted the expenditure of $948,800,734, an increase of $110,782,762 over the last Democratic House. The net increase, for which it had no Democratic precedent, was therefore $24,703,949. Inasmuch as the United States was two years older and two years bigger, this would not be a bad showing on general principles; but the fact that the Fifty-first Congress appropriated two hundred and eighty-eight millions for pensions, against one hundred and seventy-seven millions appropriated by the Fiftieth, accounts for every cent of increase over the votes of the last Democratic House, and if there is any blame to be attributed to us for giving this large sum, it cannot be made by the party which has just made Judge Holman chairman of Appropriations, while on the records of Congress itself rests the proof that this chosen representative of retrenchment and reform voted to double the very increase about which there has been so much undisciplined outcry.

Undoubtedly some decreases are possible for the present House. They will find many honest debts of the United States paid and liquidated which will never have to be paid again. The navy will

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not have to ask as much as during the last two years, and perhaps the Sundry Civil Bill will bear reduction. But the legislative and judicial expenses are likely to increase, as well as the proper demands of the postal service.

Whatever course be pursued, if the country really cares about its expenditures, the people ought to be on the watch against the substitution of parsimony for economy, and against that legislative manœuvring which lessens the expenses of the year before election by thrusting them upon the year after election.

THOMAS B. REED.

II.—ECONOMY AND THE DEMOCRACY.

BY THE HON. W. S. HOLMAN.

THE growth of public expenditure during the last few years has arrested the attention of intelligent men in all sections of the Union. Statistical tables are wearisome, but a glance at the past and a few facts will illustrate how rapidly this government is drifting away from the policy of its founders. Their purpose was to establish a plain, frugal government that should treat its people with equal-handed fairness, opening up to all alike an equal chance in the struggle for life by protecting all, granting special favors to none,—a system in forcible contrast with the "splendid governments" which had filled all Europe for centuries with poverty and wretchedness.

The state of the republic in 1860, seventy-three years after the Federal Government was formed, expressed the masterly statesmanship that from the beginning had conducted its affairs. During that period it had passed through three wars, acquired its present imperial limits from ocean to ocean, and reached the first rank in the family of nations; greatly excelling in the general equality and prosperous condition of its people all former experience in government, with taxation unfelt, and the annual expenditures reaching less than sixty-two millions of dollars—an increase, computed from the beginning, of less than a million dollars a year, embracing the long period it was exposed to the hostility of foreign powers. All the statesmen of that period knew that, occupying the most favored portion of the globe, the wealth of this nation must

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greatly surpass that of any other in any age of the world, but with the government standing impartial, the ever-growing wealth would be fairly diffused; that wealth and luxury would abound, but as long as the government confined itself to the powers conferred on it by the constitution and remained impartial and frugal, the republic was secure. But the statesmen of that period understood as well as those of this do, that by artificial methods of developing the resources of the country, through favoritism in legislation, all this might be promptly changed, and that overgrown estates and favored classes and impoverished multitudes might, by a stroke of legislation, supplant the equality, happiness, and prosperity of the whole people equally protected and fostered by impartial laws.

All men know that excessive revenues in the treasury, drawn from the people, which scrimp every fireside of labor, mean lavish and corrupt expenditures, excessive salaries, unnecessary employments, subsidies, bounties, and contracts which crystallize into great estates. All statesmen have known that such expenditures cannot be indulged in by a republic without greatly imperilling its free institutions.

During the late war, of course, the conditions were, for the time, completely changed. There is no economy during a conflict of arms. When the war had terminated, it was practically impossible in matters of expenditure to reëstablish the government at once on the basis of a frugal civil service; yet at an early moment progress to this end was visible. The old leaders of the Republican party still in some degree controlled its movements.

No party ever came into power whose leaders more sincerely sympathized with the people, their struggles and aspirations, than the Republican party. At its elementary convention in Pittsburg, Penn., when Hale and Julian were nominated for President and Vice-President, it announced principles so in harmony with the spirit of the earlier period of the republic as to reach the hearts of the people. With its demand for frugal government, it declared that the public lands—that then great heritage of the republic—should not be sold or granted to corporations, but should be held in sacred trust to secure homes for actual settlers—a grand declaration! With these principles, and

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with a loud voice demanding retrenchment and purity in government, the Republican party came into power. While the counsels of its old leaders—such men as Washburn of Illinois, of the House, and Fessenden of Maine, of the Senate—controlled the party, the promises it had made were in the main, except as to the public lands, faithfully kept. At the close of the war the old views of the value and necessity of economy in government rapidly revived, and with manifest determination on the part of the people that economy should be restored.

In the Forty-third Congress, 1875–76, the whole appropriations, annual and permanent, were brought down to a fairly reasonable basis.

The current annual appropriations for the two sessions of that Congress were $362,851,212.06, while the permanent appropriations were $290,943,779.15; in all, current, annual, and permanent, $653,794,991.21.

Considering the magnitude of the permanent appropriations, which embraced interest on the public debt, sinking-fund, and the like, this result was reasonably satisfactory, and had it not been for the extravagance displayed by the Republican party in the second session of the Forty-second Congress, it is probable that the result of the congressional election of 1874 would have been a Republican triumph.

It will be remembered that, in the closing hours of the Forty-second Congress, and after the members were elected to the House of the Forty-third Congress, there was an unusual display of extravagance in salaries, including those of members of Congress. This the people promptly rebuked in the election of members to the House of the Forty-fourth Congress, in 1874.

The Democratic party, coming into power in the Forty-fourth Congress, reduced the annual appropriations (two sessions) to $299,145,788.88. The permanent appropriations had in the meantime increased, and yet the entire appropriations, annual and permanent, of the Forty-fourth Congress were but $595,597,832.28—a reduction of $58,197,158.93, as compared with the appropriations of the preceding Congress.

This result was certainly satisfactory, for at that period the great body of the unfunded war debt was settled.

The Democrats came into the control of the House under a pledge of retrenchment in the expenses of the government, and

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the Senate was fully informed that the country demanded a restoration of the old-time economy.

Of course no one expected that a government that had recently passed through a great war, where lavish expenditure is inevitable, could return at once to severe frugality in expenditures, and the appropriations made for the years 1877–78 (Forty-fourth Congress) were reasonably satisfactory; but it seems that Congress had reached the limit of retrenchment, and in the Forty-fifth and Forty-sixth Congresses there was a material increase in the appropriations.

In the Forty-seventh Congress (1883–84) the permanent and annual appropriations had reached $777,435,948.54. During this Congress, both branches and the Executive were under the control of the Republican party, but in the Forty-eighth Congress, the Democrats controlling the House (1885–86), the appropriations, annual and permanent, were reduced to $655,269,402.33, about the same as those made by the Forty-third Congress; but in the meantime the permanent appropriations had been materially decreased.

In the Forty-ninth Congress (1887–88) the annual appropriations were very materially increased, and, with the permanent appropriations, amounted to $746,342,495.51.

In the Fiftieth Congress (1889–90) they had reached the indefensible sum of $817,963,859.80. This growth of expenditure no one could or even attempted to defend. It was displayed in the first session of that Congress as well as in the second. The only attempt ever made to excuse the excessive appropriations of that Congress was based on the persistency of the Senate in insisting on increased appropriations. The vigilance of the people was again expressed. The Democrats lost the House and the Republicans resumed the control of every department of the government.

With the members of the House of Representatives of the Fifty-first Congress coming fresh from the people, it was natural to expect that care in the public expenditures would be shown, but the rules adopted at the opening of the Fifty-first Congress created widespread apprehension among men who understood that rules "to do business" in Congress meant easy access to the treasury.

The appropriations made by the Fifty-first Congress reached the unexampled sum of $988,417,183.34, and with the money

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authorized to be refunded to the several States on account of the direct tax, and certain indefinite items, amounted to the sum of $1,007,930,183.84. But the sum of money actually appropriated by the Fifty-first Congress does not fully express the charges it imposed in the future on the public treasury. To illustrate: It created specifically 1,941 new offices, at an annual cost of $2,359,-215, and increased the salaries of 403 officials in the aggregate $245,108.12; a record in this particular not approached by any other Congress assembled prior to or since the war, with the possible exception of the Forty-seventh Congress. It authorized the construction of new public buildings to cost in the aggregate $17,046,639.54; it appropriated $28,087,495 for river and harbor work, and in addition thereto authorized contracts to be entered into in the case of a few specific places obligating the government in the further sum of $11,331,779, making a total of $39,419,274 authorized expenditures for rivers and harbors, or more than 75 per centum increase over what was ever voted for this purpose by any other Congress; and, as if distrustful of its work being approved by the people, fastened its system of subsidies and bounties on the government for years to come, rendering the House of Representatives powerless to correct the abuse until the periods named shall have expired. From the very beginning of that Congress unsatisfactory results had been apprehended. The rules, while arbitrary on one hand, opened up on the other unjustifiable facilities for the appropriation of money.

The fruits of the new rules were a bitter disappointment to the members of the great party which elected that House, and filled them with indignation. An increase in the public expenditures in two years of $189,966,323.54 startled and exasperated all considerate men.

If the Congress of the United States sets the example of extravagance, the purity and integrity of the whole system are endangered. Hence the alarm that has been expressed time and time again by the people when any party has shown indifference to economy and purity in the government.

Excessive taxation, always inexcusable and unjust, impoverishes the citizen, creates countless charges upon the government, —a swarm of unnecessary officials who eat up the fruits of the labor of the people,—and in course of time inevitably consolidates the

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wealth of the country. Unnecessary taxation of itself is certainly a great evil, yet it is far less to be deplored than the inevitable result—lavish expenditures creating venal motives in every avenue and channel of administration.

The details of the appropriations of the Fifty-first Congress would be wearisome, but exceedingly instructive. But the policy of inexcusable expenditure by the Fifty-first Congress, declared in the rules it adopted, does not express fully the drift of the Republican party, as represented in Congress. It is more clearly expressed in its measures in favor of bounties and subsidies.

The country now fully understands the effects of the policy of the party in subsidizing corporations, during the late war and later, with lands west of the Mississippi equal in territory to seven great States of the Union; those corporations promoting an unexampled immigration to occupy these lands and make their grants valuable, and reducing, by reason of over-production westward, the value of lands from the Atlantic to the Mississippi River and beyond. And the country understands that, while this policy greatly and injuriously affected the eastern section of the Union in interfering with the natural development of our country, the pecuniary benefits of these unexampled grants of lands, while inflicting irreparable injury on our landless people by increasing the price of the lands to them for homes, accrued largely to capitalists of Germany and England; and the humiliation and dishonor brought upon the country by the Credit Mobilier through these subsidies should not be forgotten.

But still further to illustrate the effect of subsidies: A great corporation, near the close of the late war, obtained a subsidy of $500,000 a year for ten years for carrying the mails between San Francisco and China and Japan. Encouraged by the former success, in 1872 it applied to Congress, and obtained an additional subsidy of $500,000 for ten years. Soon afterward the fact was disclosed that the enactment of the law authorizing this last subsidy was obtained by the expenditure of large sums of money. In an investigation into the facts in the Forty-second Congress (a Republican Congress), Mr. Kasson, of Iowa, on behalf of a committee appointed to inquire into the facts, reported to the House of Representatives, February 25, 1875, that $703,100 was expended by that corporation in securing the enactment of the law authorizing this additional subsidy. With such fatal results of sub-

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sidies, bounties, and favoritism in legislation, can the American people, who hold the honor of their government as above price, look with favor on such policy?

With this experience of the effects of the policy of granting subsidies in full view, this Fifty-first Congress entered upon a liberal system of subsidies to the owners of ships engaged in the foreign trade, carrying mails; and it now seems—a fact that was urged on the House in that Fifty-first Congress as likely to occur—that the same corporation which had expended in 1872 more than half a million dollars in carrying through an annual subsidy of $500,000 for ten years is now, and will be, the main recipient of this beneficent mail provision authorized by the Fifty-first Congress. It will be seen in the early future how many owners of ships are to be fostered by the treasury, and perhaps how many of the ships are owned in fact by capitalists of Great Britain.

That Fifty-first Congress, not content with subsidizing the owners of ships, generally gentlemen of wealth, granted bounties to the manufacturers of sugar. No particular industry had ever before been directly pensioned on the treasury. It is gratifying that this thoroughly un-American enactment, which gives special encouragement to a particular industry at the expense of all other industries of the United States, was promptly condemned by the people. Applications for bounties under this law furnish valuable information to the taxpayers of this country. Seven hundred and thirty cane-sugar producers are applicants, asking for more than eleven millions of dollars; and the amount that will be paid them will reach from nine millions to eleven millions this year. Some astounding results are disclosed by the claims filed. Without going into detail, a few facts will illustrate the effects of this bounty law. It is said, and the report of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue seems to confirm it, that seventeen men in Louisiana will, if their claims for the production of sugar are verified, receive this year in the aggregate the sum of $2,356,720, an average for each person of $138,600; a sum which the average farmer might well consider an enormous fortune. It seems that even the sum that will be received from the treasury by the smallest sugar farmers in that State will reach $867, a bounty exceeding the entire earnings of the average farmer of the West. The tariff on sugar, while of course it increased the price, as the consumer paid the duty, was strictly a revenue measure, and gave no offence to

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the manly sentiment of equal fairness of men engaged in other industries. But will bounties paid to a favored class of producers animate the spirit of the great multitude of men engaged in other industries? Will not the patient toiler the products of whose fields command no bounty from the public treasury, embittered and discouraged, denounce as infamous the law that compels his labor to bear its part in the payment of bounties to enrich his fellow citizen engaged in an industry no more honorable nor in any degree more valuable to his country than his own? Will his indignation be diminished as he surveys his small estate, and remembers that these liberal bounties are paid to gentlemen of ample possessions? Will this increase his love for his country and his admiration of its even-handed justice? With such a record, is it surprising that the Fifty-first Congress was condemned promptly by the people?

The two great parties which now struggle for supremacy are well illustrated by the views of two distinguished men of this present period, the late Mr. Randall, of Pennsylvania, and Mr. Reed, of Maine, both of whom were Speakers of the National House of Representatives and gentlemen of superior abilities.

From Mr. Randall's standpoint it was infinitely better that the government should be even penurious, with an overflowing treasury, than lavish and corrupt in its expenditures.

Mr. Reed's views are different. They were fully expressed in the rules of the Fifty-first Congress. The programme, fairly stated, was simple and direct: the majority should control the House; obstructions and impediments should not be allowed; the House should be organized "to do business." No one misapprehended the meaning of this—the excessive taxation of the people. Access to the treasury should not be obstructed by a discredited minority. Legislation should go on without hindrance. The result was natural enough—largely increased taxation of the people on the common necessaries of life, and a lavish expenditure of the people's money without any precedent in the history of our country.

Mr. Randall's views, as expressed in the rules he favored and their administration, meant restrictions on legislation, barriers against raids on the public treasury, a frugal and honest government that should not "take from the mouth of labor the bread it had earned."

WM. S. HOLMAN.

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AN INTERNATIONAL MONETARY CONFERENCE.

BY THE HON. WILLIAM M. SPRINGER, CHAIRMAN OF THE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

COMMERCE between nations is increasing rapidly every year. The foreign commerce of the United States now amounts to nearly two billions of dollars annually, while that of Great Britain exceeds three billions five hundred millions of dollars. The prodigious number of transactions which comprise such enormous aggregates can hardly be realized. The increased facilities for transportation, the constant opening of new markets, the quick communication of intelligence by telegraphs, the publication of newspapers, trade reports, and commercial statistics, have brought all nations into one commercial family and established relations of mutual interest and profit.

The greatest hindrance at this time to international exchanges, next to restrictive legislation, is the want of uniformity in monetary systems and in weights and measures. The advantages of uniformity in these respects cannot be overestimated. In view of the intelligence which prevails in every part of the civilized world, and of the readiness with which all new inventions are adopted and employed, it is remarkable that there is at this time such a diversity as to coinage, weights, and measures between the various governments of the earth. Each nation seems to adhere to the systems of finance and domestic commercial exchanges which have prevailed heretofore, and which served every purpose of commerce in a state of isolation. If we consider the enormous volume of trade between all nations which has grown up in modern times, it is scarcely credible that so little advance should be made in the direction of securing uniformity of monetary systems and of weights and measures. The time is coming when the interests of business and of international ex-

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changes will demand of the law-making powers of the respective nations the adoption of systems of uniformity in these respects.

The celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America is a most appropriate occasion for the assembling of an international congress in the city of Chicago during the World's Columbian Exposition, which should have for its object, and whose duty it should be, to formulate and submit for the approval of the governments sending representatives thereto, uniform systems and nomenclatures of coinage, of weights, and of measures. At this exposition will be exhibited the products of chief commercial importance of every civilized nation in the world. As one passes through the various buildings and beholds those products, he will find their value, their weight, and their measure expressed in different terms, so as to make comparisons almost impossible. The products in most cases will be familiar objects, but to compare them in price and quantity with the products of other countries will require a greater amount of intelligence than any one man will possess. There will be a perfect confusion of tongues, a modern commercial tower of Babel. This difficulty, however, must serve a useful purpose, and may perhaps result in the greatest advantage which will be secured by such an exposition of the products of the world. If out of this chaos of diversity should come complete systems of uniformity by which all commercial transactions could be expressed in the same terms, the exposition would prove the most important ever held, and the benefits to mankind would be as enduring as time itself. If an earnest effort shall be made on the part of the United States and all other governments whose products will be represented at this exposition, it is reasonable to hope, at least, that some good result will follow, if not the complete success of this much-needed reform.

The Congress of the United States should make proper provision for the assembling of such a congress. It should be in every sense a congress—a great, open, deliberative body, composed of the ablest citizens of the respective nations of the earth. Its proceedings should be published, the same as the proceedings of our Congress, and the press should be furnished with every facility for the reporting of the debates and proceedings. It should not be limited as to the time during which its deliberations are to take place. Ample time and opportunity should be

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afforded for the most thorough discussion of all the topics which may come before the body.

The President should be authorized, in behalf of the United States, to invite the governments with which we maintain diplomatic relations to send representatives to this international congress. The United States should be represented by at least twenty-one delegates, seven of whom should be appointed by the President and an equal number by the president of the Senate and by the Speaker of the House of Representatives. Not more than four to be appointed by each should be members of the same political party, and they should represent as far as possible all shades of opinion upon the subject of coinage. Those appointed by the president of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives should be members of this Congress who may be members of the Fifty-third Congress also.

The President of the United States should be instructed to inform the governments with which the United States maintains diplomatic relations that the government of the United States earnestly desires to secure uniform systems of coinage and of weights and measures, so as to facilitate as far as possible exchanges of commodities and to simplify monetary transactions; that this government especially desires an international agreement as to the relation which should be maintained between gold and silver, and uniformity in weight and fineness of the coins of each metal, and the adoption of a coin, or coins, that would be current at the same value in all countries of the world.

The President should be further instructed to call the attention of all such governments to the advantages which would accrue from the adoption of such uniform systems, and to say that the government of the United States would await with deepest concern the deliberations and conclusions that might be reached by this international congress, with the earnest hope that these efforts might be crowned with success. He should further inform such governments that, in the event that no conclusion is reached which would meet the approbation of this country, the law-making power of the United States will then be free to adopt such measures in reference to the subjects named as may be most conducive to the welfare of the people of this country.

The calling of such an international congress will not necessarily prevent the United States from legislating upon the subject

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of silver coinage in the meantime. It is universally conceded, however, that, owing to the present condition of the law-making power of the United States, no free-coinage bill can become a law during this Congress. It is possible that a bill having this object in view could pass the House of Representatives; it is barely possible that it might pass the Senate; but here the possibilities end. The President would undoubtedly return it with his veto to the house in which it originated, and there is no possibility of passing such a bill over executive disapproval by the necessary two-thirds' majority. Hence there will be no legislation on this subject by this Congress, which expires by limitation of law on the third day of March, 1893. The next Congress will not assemble in regular session until December of that year. This is the earliest period, then, at which it is possible to consider legislation which may thereafter be enacted into law in reference to the coinage of silver.

However desirable the free coinage of silver may be in the estimation of those in favor of legislation to secure that object, all efforts in that direction by this Congress will be futile. All legislative experience teaches that that which is most desirable cannot always be accomplished. Therefore that which is desirable, and which at the same time may be attained, ought to be the prime object of all legislators. What, therefore, is attainable by this Congress so far as silver coinage is concerned?

The calling of an international monetary congress and the discussion which such a congress would provoke would result in the greatest benefit possible to this country and to all other countries. Such a congress would not result in suppressing silver as a political issue, but would make it a great national and international question, to be settled at the earliest time practicable upon lines as broad as possible. All persons must concede that an international agreement upon this subject, which would secure uniformity of coinage throughout the world, is the object most to be desired. With such an international agreement and uniformity, all apprehensions for the future would be dispelled, and there would be perfect security as to the value of each of the metals in all parts of the world and for all time to come. Those who favor the largest use possible of both metals will recognize at once the supreme importance of such an agreement as this. In view of the fact that this country cannot secure free coinage of

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silver for itself, even if that were desirable, prior to the time at which such a congress would assemble and conclude its labors, what objection can any bimetallist offer to making one last and determined effort to bring about a result which would be so beneficial to mankind? But if such a congress should fail to reach a conclusion, or if the conclusion reached should not be acceptable to this country, the discussion which will have taken place will so enlighten the people of this country that when the Federal Congress assembles in December, 1893, it can enter upon the consideration of the subject with the light of the century thrown upon it. A campaign of education, as it were, will have been carried on, which must result in pointing the way to a proper solution of the question at that time.

There have been several international conferences held on the subject of coinage. There was one held at Paris in August, 1878. There were three commissioners on the part of the United States, Messrs. Reuben E. Fenton, William S. Groesbeck, and Francis A. Walker. Only nine governments were represented, namely, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Russia, Sweden and Norway, Switzerland, and the United States. The proceedings were conducted almost exclusively in the French language, but the secretary of the American commissioners obtained a stenographic report of the few English addresses, and these, with the journal of the conference, were transmitted to the Secretary of State of the United States. Congress has caused the report of the commission and the journal of the conference to be printed, together with an appendix which contains much useful information on the subject. Another international monetary conference was held in Paris in 1881. The same governments, with the exception of Russia and Italy, were represented in this conference, and also Denmark, Germany, Greece, Portugal, and Spain. The delegates on the part of the United States were William M. Evarts, Allen G. Thurman, and Timothy O. Howe. The journal of the conference and report of exhibits were printed by the Secretary of State.

The Pan-American Conference, which assembled in Washington in 1890, recommended the appointment of a commission, composed of one or more delegates from each nation represented in that conference, to consider the quality and kind of currency, the uses it shall have, and the value and propor-

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tion of the international silver coin or coins, and their relations to gold. The commission met in the early part of 1891. Three commissioners were appointed on behalf of the United States, namely, Nathaniel P. Hill, of Colorado, Lambert Tree, of Illinois, and William A. Russell, of Massachusetts. The delegates from the United States recommended that the governments represented unite in inviting a monetary conference of all the powers of the world, to be held in London or Paris, "to consider bimetallism and the equalization of gold and silver, to be fixed by international agreement, and the universal assimilation of monetary types both of gold and silver and their legal international circulation for all purposes." A committee representing the Spanish-American republics reported a similar recommendation.

Mr. Romero, the president of the commission and Mexican Minister at Washington, submitted an amendment to both propositions, to the effect that the government of the United States should be requested to "invite a universal conference of all civilized nations, to be held at the time it may deem desirable, to reach, if possible, an agreement upon a fixed ratio between gold and silver, and the adoption of a common coin for all of said nations." After a prolonged discussion of all these propositions, the commission adopted a series of resolutions setting forth the great benefit to the commerce of the world which such an agreement would secure, and expressing the opinion that the object could be accomplished by an international agreement; but, doubting whether the desired ends could be attained at present, the concluding resolution merely expressed "the wish that before long another commission may meet, which shall reach an agreement that will secure the adoption of a uniform monetary system between the nations of America advantageous to each and all."

It remains to be seen whether the United States will make any further effort in the direction indicated.

These conferences have not brought about the objects contemplated, but they were not without beneficial results. Much more important results, undoubtedly, would have followed if, instead of these small conferences, there had been a great international congress, composed of two or three hundred delegates, whose deliberations would have been conducted openly, where the representatives of the press would have been present, and where the

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widest publicity would have been given to the discussions and proceedings.

Objection to such an international congress has been made upon the ground that the great governments of Europe will oppose any agreement which will give silver a place in the coinage of the world, and that it will be impossible to attain success. It is possible that some countries may decline to send representatives to such a congress, or refuse to enter into any agreements upon the subject of coinage, of weights, or of measures. But that fact should not prevent other governments from sending such representatives, or from earnestly desiring to secure uniformity in these matters. If the Latin nations of this hemisphere and of Europe should reach a conclusion satisfactory to them, it would not be many years until all the other nations of the earth would adopt their system. In any event, success will never be attained unless great and earnest efforts are made in that direction. The time has arrived, the opportunity is offered, and the holding of such an international congress ought to be favored by all who desire to promote the commercial interests of the world.

If international agreements could be reached upon the subjects indicated in this article, and if such agreements should receive the approval of the great commercial nations, this achievement would be the crowning glory of the nineteenth century. But if no agreement should be reached, the education which would result from the holding of such a congress would be worth all the expense and effort that would be put forth, and would enable the representatives of our own country, when it is possible to secure results, to deal with the question of coinage in such a manner as would best promote the welfare of our own people.

WILLIAM M. SPRINGER.

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THE HIGHLANDS OF JAMAICA

BY LADY BLAKE.

WHAT most surprised me after a residence in Jamaica long enough to enable me to form an opinion of the climate all the year round, was its comparative coolness. In the West Indies the sweltering, stifling heat of the East Indies is unknown. The days are undeniably hot, the direct rays of a tropical sun being invariably too ardent to be desirable, but the nights are almost always cool and pleasant, and the evenings and early mornings are ideally delightful. All through the day, from about 9 A.M. to 6 P.M., a strong sea breeze, called by the early Spanish settlers "the doctor," blows almost continuously, and at night a deliciously cool and refreshing land breeze sets in, sweeping gently down from the Blue Mountains, and, as all things are judged by comparison, seeming downright chilly after the heat of the day, so as to render a blanket often a desirable adjunct to one's covering at night, even in the middle of summer.

The continuance, not the intensity, of the heat in the West Indies is what is trying to Europeans, accustomed to the bracing frosts and snows of more northern climes. After months and months of smiling summer, one begins to feel a little "run down," as the phrase is, and to realize that the winters of the stern and solemn North are a desirable tonic. But Jamaica, like Cleopatra, has the charm of "infinite variety." To be braced, there is no need to face the wearisomeness and discomforts of a long and tedious voyage, for above those hot dry plains tower the glorious Blue Mountains; "the eternal hills" will afford us just what we want. So we order a "buggy,"—as the light and convenient little hooded carriages in general use in Jamaica are termed, with that ugliness of diction that distinguishes most things coming from the United States,—and the pair of rat-like but well-bred and wiry little horses that draw it soon cause the scene to change from the

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untidy-looking cashaws, and dusty cacti, and penguins of the plains in this rainless month of July, to the nodding bamboos, the fluttering lilac plumes of the mountain-pride, the chocolate, coffee, and orange trees that form a luxuriant foreground to the romantic scenery of the picturesque gorge of Gordon Town, through which rushes and sparkles the Hope River, as if rejoicing to bring life and refreshment to the thirsty plain below.

High on either hand rise the grass-clad hills, now, alas! denuded of the lofty forests that once drew down the blessing of rain in abundance. Here and there a tiny cottage is perched like a swallow's nest against some shoulder of the steep incline, surrounded by a field of pineapples and shaded by a bougainvillea, whose rich mantle of magenta blossoms proves that no color, in itself and in its proper place, is unpleasing.

Lower down, nearer the stream, stand more ambitious dwellings, with prettily carved and painted verandas, over which trail the great white blossoms of the peanmontia grandiflora, or the sweet-scented, wax-like flowers of the stephanotis. Geraniums, roses, heliotrope, and nasturtiums (exotics here) cluster in cherished beds in the garden, amidst a neglected tangle of tropical shrubs, where flame out the gorgeous crimson flowers of the hibiscus, or the pale-blue blossoms of the plumbago stretch gently upwards towards the light. A golden allamanda lolls over the fence, and, above, the huge dark-green, deeply-indented leaves of the bread-fruit (one of the most beautiful of trees), and the olive and ruddy brown leaves of the star-apple, "two-faced, like a woman," according to the negro proverb, form a delightful canopy, beneath which the owner of the miniature Eden may swing contentedly in his hammock and watch such passers as come by, principally files of women passing down to market, chattering volubly, their petticoats well drawn up over their stalwart hips, so as not to impede their steps. Bright-colored bandannas are twisted, turban-like, round their heads, on which are piled huge bunches of bananas, or gaily-painted baskets heaped high with green and brown avocado pears, bright yellow mangoes, yams, carrots, and scallions, all balanced with astonishing skill.

For miles and miles these women walk barefooted briskly and cheerily, though heavily laden with their wares for the market. When they draw near the town, some sit down and force their shrinking feet into the boots that were carried so much more

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conveniently on their heads, though the greater number reserve those uncomfortable impedimenta of an unwise civilization for the pleasing pain of their Sunday toilette. Unencumbered with the hideous high-heeled parodies known as "French boots" by the uninitiated, these women swing bravely along, sometimes traversing a distance of over twenty miles to Kingston, the mere distance in miles not at all representing the endurance and exertion necessary to ascend and descend the steep and rugged mountain paths. It has been calculated that 10,000 people come in this manner every Saturday into Kingston market, sleeping the previous night (for markets in the tropics open with the dawn) in the piazzas of the town or in the bush by the wayside.

To return to our journey. For three miles through the beautiful gorge, it is all collar-work for the horses and a panorama of loveliness and interest for us; then we reach the little hamlet that lends its name to the valley. Here the driving-road ends, and ponies await us for the ascent. They are small, but generally sure-footed and quiet, some of them, indeed, possessing powers of climbing that are positively cat-like. Riding in the hills is necessarily slow, as progression is very much like riding up and down the declivity of an exceedingly steep roof, with an occasional excursion along the extreme edge of the gutter for a change; consequently distance is computed by the time taken to accomplish it, not by the number of miles traversed.

To reach our destination to-day will take about three hours. But what a glorious ride it is. The path winds along under mango and mahoe trees; the lovely foliage of the wild tamarind makes a delicious shade, its long branches laden with bunches of twisted crimson pods, out of which hang rows of ebon-black seeds; the bank beneath is a mass of gold and silver and maiden-hair ferns, through which peep the blue blossoms of the evil-eye, the yellow, trumpet-shaped bells of the gentian, or the brilliant scarlet flowers of the exquisite "dazzle."

Mocking-birds call from the thickets, and a minute, brilliant-green bird with a crimson spot on its throat, a creature that looks as if made of emeralds and one large ruby, is seated on a branch near the stream. It is the "Jamaica robin" or "tocty"; so small is it that formerly it was reckoned amongst the humming-birds and was so classed by no less a naturalist than Sir Hans Sloane. It belongs, in reality, to the kingfisher family,

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and, like the English kingfisher, nests in holes in banks. Humming-birds flash like jewels through the woods; one tiny "bee humming-bird," the smallest of known birds, dashes almost into one's face in evident anger. Its nest must be close by. Here it is, oddly enough, perched at the top of a bunch of small unripe bananas; a tiny, beautiful structure, hardly larger than a tailor's thimble, lined with down of the silk cotton-tree, and covered with traces of gray lichen, woven on to the nest in some marvellous fashion with the threads from a spider's web. In the nest nestle two little downy creatures hardly larger than good-sized honey-bees, with very long beaks in proportion to their size, which they open wide, clamoring vigorously at the sound of any chirp that seems to herald the approach of food. The parent bird hovers over them, and, undismayed by our curious presence, inserts her beak down each tiny throat in turn, pouring into it the welcome food.

Thirty or forty feet below the track gurgles along the mountain torrent, and over it hover numbers of butterflies; and dragon-flies, with iridescent bodies and what look like heavy black wings, flit about, seeking some quiet pool in which to lay their eggs. As we get higher the character of the vegetation changes. Tall wild ginger plants, with long, sword-like leaves, and white or orange-colored flowers that emit a strong sweet scent carried far by the air, so that the mountain side is almost heavy with perfume, grow by the acre. The sturdy silver fern still throws up its large fronds, but the gold fern and the maiden-hair ferns have disappeared; in their place here and there a true fern rears its stately head; the masses of pink begonias grow larger and denser, till in places the hillside is rosy with their shell-like blossoms. Juniper cedars become larger and more frequent, and diffuse an aromatic, delicious odor all around.

But our brain is growing regularly weary by the succession of beauties, and it is a steep, long, and tiresome climb up the last hill. Our poor pony has no light task; an old man has begged for the "loan of a tail" (a very usual request in the hills) and is hanging on to that portion of our steed, more to the man's satisfaction than to that of the quadruped. It seems as if the top of the hill receded the further we go. It takes a whole hour crawling up it. The evening is beginning to close in, and now come the fireflies; the whole mountain side is alive with them.

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They dance and sparkle everywhere, in the bamboos overshadowing the path, in the grass at our feet. Once or twice we mistake them for shooting stars. One poor wretch is caught in a spider's web in that white flowering yucca, and glitters to the last as it writhes in torment, while the spider, with human relentlessness, drives its fangs into its beautiful victim. But our journey is over; at last we reach our destination, the government cinchona plantation.

The plantation was made in 1868 by the direction of Sir John Peter Grant, governor of Jamaica, with the object of propagating cinchona and extending its cultivation in the island. The fall in the price of quinine, consequent on the spread of cinchona-planting in Ceylon and India, has prevented the Jamaica cinchona from proving the gold mine it was once fondly hoped it might turn out. Still, even at the reduced price, it pays its way fairly well, and a war would render the profits large. For two centuries the Jesuit's bark, as it was popularly called from having been first used and distributed by the far-seeing and untiring Jesuit fathers, was the jealously-guarded monopoly of Peru. Its valuable properties are said to have been discovered by the following accident: A party of men, worn and weary, were making their way through one of the vast forests of South America. One of them was sick with fever, nigh unto death; his companions were unable to carry him through the thick jungle, and, coming to a small pool of water, the sick man there lay down, as he supposed, to die. The others went forward to seek assistance, if it could be found. After a few days, having come to some habitations and obtained relief, the men returned to where they had left their comrade, with the intention of burying his body, when to their astonishment the man was not only alive, but the fever had left him and he was recovering. Lying by the little pool, the sick man had assuaged his burning thirst by drinking of the water, bitter as it was, no doubt, from the trunk of a tree that had fallen and lay rotting in it. Before long the fever left him, and he began to mend.

This circumstance is said to have first led to the discovery of the value of Peruvian bark. Not long afterwards a great lady, wife of the viceroy of Peru, was cured at Lima of a dangerous fever by the administration of a decoction of the bark; on her return to Spain she introduced its use in her own country, and

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Linnæus immortalized the Countess of Chinchon by bestowing her name on the genus. It was not till 1860, after a long, laborious journey through the Andes, that Clements Markham succeeded, not without running some risk, in obtaining a supply of young cinchona plants, every obstacle being opposed by the people to their being carried out of the country. From these plants the cinchona cultivations of India, Jamaica, and other British possessions had their origin, and throve so well as rapidly to bring down the price of quinine. The cinchona, with its oval deeply-veined leaves, is a pretty tree, especially when in blossom, and the bunches of delicate fluffy pink-and-white flowers emit a delicious fragrance. The branches are often gray with lichens, and the richer the growth of lichens, the more valuable the bark.

The climate of these uplands is perfect, resembling the most lovely English summer weather, with a fresh, exhilarating feeling in the air that recalls Switzerland and the Alps. The evenings, however, are cooler than those of our English summer, so that when the day closes it is pleasant to have a fire of fragrant cedar logs in the sitting-room. The scenery all around is strikingly fine. Blue Mountain Peak, the highest mountain in the West Indies, on whose summit, as is related with pride, ice has more than once been found, rises on one hand; John Crow Peak on the other, beyond which rises range upon range of mountains, melting away in a blue haze on the horizon. Below glistens the placid sea; through it the palisades writhe like a dark serpent with Port Royal for its head, guarding the magnificent harbor, while "distance lends enchantment to the view" of hot, dusty Kingston, with the Liguanea plain brightened here and there by the green gleam of cane fields.

The rides through the high mountain district are most beautiful, but one must have a steady head to venture on some of the paths, which, in places, are barely a couple of feet wide, the mountain rising sheer at one side, with a precipice at the other, down which a single false step on the part of one's pony would send one spinning a couple of thousand feet. On many of these paths it is dangerous to stop for a single moment, and impossible to turn round or pass man or beast. In one instance a lady dropped her handkerchief and had to proceed without it, as the track was so narrow that no one would dismount to pick it up.

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The hills are thickly covered with masses of the largest and most juicy wild strawberries to be procured anywhere; in places they grow as if planted in regular beds. Cape gooseberries and blackberries abound, and there are bilberries in quantities, but the lowly shrub from which we were wont at home to pluck the latter has here sprung into a regular tree, in whose shade we sit and rest when wearied with strawberry-picking.

Enjoyable expeditions may be made in all directions. A ride to the top of the peak and a night in the hut near the summit for the enterprising, or a tramp to the top of cloud-capped John Crow, clearing the way as we go with machetes; the shrill whistle of the unseen "solitaire" ringing all round us; every now and then the presence of a wild hog hidden in the bush telling how much he is disturbed by the unwonted intrusion. So invigorating is the air that one may walk for miles without feeling fatigue.

To the lover of botany or the collector of ferns, the highlands of Jamaica are simply paradise. Flowers of the most brilliant hues and graceful forms, from the homely gorse and modest pansy, which have "gone wild" in the island, to true denizens of the tropics abound everywhere. The pink, velvety maurandia grandeus hangs its festoons over rock and bush; the crimson petals of the blakia triverirs show star-like amid the dark foliage, and the little heath-like crephea decandria, so common in English green-houses, fringes the path. It is a pity that most of the tropical flowers have no popular names, but have to be distinguished by their stiff, pedantic, scientific nomenclature lacking all the poetry and charm attaching to names such as the shepherd's weather-glass, the heart's-ease, the forget-me-not of English meadows. Trails of large, white, sweet-scented dog-roses fling themselves over the bushes, and clusters of passion-flowers delight the eye, while their fruits, known as sweet-cups, are juicy and agreeable to thirsty palates.

But perhaps the most delightful of all these expeditions is a day spent in the tree-fern forests. The largest and most magnificient hot-house gives but a faint idea of the grandeur and beauty of tropical vegetation in its native home, and one there enjoys it in the cool shade, free from the stifling atmosphere so oppressive in hot-houses. Huge tree-ferns tower five-and-twenty and thirty feet high. On seeing similar ones in the mountains of Hispaniola, "the Spaniards argued the richness of the soil, mak-

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ing ferns grow to such a vast bigness, which in Europe were so inconsiderable."

The stems of the tree-ferns give shelter to myriads of filmy ferns of fairy-like delicacy and loveliness. They climb over the rocks, cling to every branch, and embrace each fallen stem. Selaginellas and mosses lend their aid to enhance the beauty of the scene, and even in this greensward shade flowers are not wanting. The small dark-blue flowers of the manettia lygistum peep out from amongst the shrubs over which they twine, while, above, the rich bells of the merianea bullifera (which takes its name from the well-known artist and naturalist Mme. de Merian) hang blushing at their own beauty.

Transparent-winged butterflies, curious as beautiful, and countless moths flutter up from moss and tree as one forces a way through the intertwining boughs, and it is just possible that an æsthetic spider with formidable fangs has made its funnel-shaped nest and covered the trap-door with translucent films in that luxuriant mass of ferns; so it is as well not too rashly to thrust one's hands into hidden neighborhoods. However, one of the many advantages of Jamaica is that the dangers of venomous reptiles and insects are few. Poisonous snakes there are none, and such harmless kinds as it once possessed have become so scarce that to find one is a rare prize.

Scorpions there are, but, unless molested, one never hears of their stinging. In the mountains they are seldom seen. I once found one, when breaking off a piece of rock to watch a community of ants. Comfortably ensconced on a ledge of rock in the midst of the ants was a small, light-colored scorpion with a young family of six or seven on her back, and some "children of a larger growth" squatting around her. Probably the scorpions had chosen the spot in order to feed on the ants and their eggs, but the ants apparently had no fear of the intruders, as, had they turned on the scorpions, the latter would have fared no better than did Gulliver among the Lilliputs. It is singular to watch a maternal scorpion carrying her family on her back. I have counted as many as seventy young ones so carried. As they grew larger, the little creatures sometimes descended and ran about, and when alarmed scuttled back to their point of vantage, using their parent's legs as a scaling-ladder. The mother is said to feed her young with her saliva. It was formerly supposed that the in-

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fant scorpions preyed upon their mother, sucking out her body till she was left a dry skeleton. This is certainly not the case, and the idea probably arose from the old scorpion sloughing her coat after the departure of the brood. For the reputation of the scorpion's amiability, I regret to say that sometimes the parents devour their offspring. I kept a scorpion and its young for some days securely papered up in a box from which nothing could have escaped; having procured a bottle that seemed a more desirable abode for the family, I opened the box; the mother scorpion was there, but its offspring were gone.

Mosquitoes, as everywhere in the tropics, do their best, like some higher beings, to render themselves obnoxious. In the woods they are of a peculiarly fierce temperament, but they are not as numerous in Jamaica as in other islands of the West Indies, and during the winter months there is almost complete immunity from them even in the plains. Ticks are the chief pest of the island, but they, again, only appear during a few months of the year, and scarcely make their way to the high hills.

But, to make amends for the unpleasing qualities of some insects (if it is permissible in a slight paper like this, for unscientific convenience, to class ticks in that category), there are others that afford one nothing but delight. A beautiful sight is to watch a flight of emperor-moths (*Urania Sloanus*), which sometimes appear soaring and wheeling in the air in hundreds, flying up and up till they are lost to sight. Though so numerous, these lovely moths are difficult to capture, their flight being so high and strong as more to resemble that of a lark than that of an insect; indeed, I have more than once mistaken an emperor-moth for a small bird. The groundwork of the wings is black, with iridescent stripes and patches of blue, green, and rose-color. Whence they come is a mystery. I believe the caterpillars are unknown to science, though somewhere in the mountains they must exist in thousands. The moths appear to come down from the higher mountains, flying down sometimes as far as the plains. The easiest way of obtaining specimens is by shooting them with a small collecting-gun charged with sand.

The mountains of Jamaica, even to the natives, have been *terra incognita* till very recent days. When the Spaniards discovered Xamayca, though the seacoasts were thickly populated by Indians, the "inland parts were unpeopled solitudes." The Spanish

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settlers only inhabited the plains, and the early English settlers seem to have followed the example, for, after the great earthquake of 1692, an eye-witness thus speaks of the Blue Mountains: "But those wild desert places being rarely or never visited by anybody, not by negroes themselves, we are yet ignorant of what happened there." The introduction of the coffee-tree probably first led to the opening-up and settlement of the uplands. Numerous comfortable little houses with their coffee works and barbecues, around which flourish rich European and tropical flowers in a delightful medley, are now dotted about the former desolate mountain solitudes; negro huts cluster here and there beneath clumps of bananas, and their cultivations are creeping up and invading even the higher hills; but much remains to be done. Narrow and precipitous bridle-paths are at present the only means of access to those regions of wondrous beauty and healthfulness, and are ill adapted for carrying down the rich produce to which the extended cultivation is giving rise, and impossible to be attempted by invalids in search of renewed life and health.

If, as we hope, Jamaica may ere long become a health resort and playground, not only for the West Indies and America, but for Europe, a driving-road to the sanatorium that must then arise amidst the mountains is an absolute necessity, for many invalids who now throng the Mediterranean Riviera will then acknowledge that the Jamaican mountains, which restored their vanished strength, are not only one of the loveliest but one of the healthiest spots in God's creation.

EDITH BLAKE.

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SHALL WE HAVE FREE SHIPS?

BY CAPTAIN JOHN CODMAN.

In the January number of The North American Review Mr. Cramp essays a reply to your question as to the cost of ships. Leaving out of consideration what he says of contracts for national vessels as irrelevant to the purpose, his answer, condensed, is this: "Do you mean tramps? Well, it is beneath the dignity of an American mechanic to build vessels of that class. We would not duplicate them at any cost. Do you mean such ships as the 'ocean greyhounds'? I have to say that every shipyard has methods, systems, and practices peculiarly its own. I would not build ships just like them, but I would build ships equally good for the same price."

It is very common to sneer after this manner at the great fleet of independent steamships, which, notwithstanding the large number and tonnage of the regular lines, far exceed them, and are actually doing the principal business upon the ocean, many of them owned and commanded by American citizens. It is true that they are roughly finished, for fine brass and joiner work is not required for freighting; but the plea that they are unseaworthy is negatived by the fact that underwriters insure them and the cargoes they carry. Shippers and underwriters may be supposed to understand their own affairs, and captains and officers to set a value upon their own lives. At all events, it is undeniable that, when an American desires to have an independent steamship (call her a "tramp" if you please) or an iron sailing ship to be employed exclusively in foreign trade, he invariably has her built in England or Scotland, registers her in the name of a British subject, and takes a mortgage upon her for her full value—a round-about course that he is forced by our absurd navigation laws to pursue, and one that he would certainly avoid if he could be equally well served at home.

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In considering what Mr. Cramp has elsewhere said, I shall treat him, I trust, with courtesy; while, as a Free-Trader, looking upon protection as an injustice, I cannot regard subsidies and bounties for the promotion of shipbuilding otherwise than as unjust extortions, or, at the best, needless charities, and those who ask for them as suppliants at our hands. Mr. Cramp has voluntarily placed himself in that attitude. Somewhat analogous to the subject under consideration is a most valuable and comprehensive paper written for *Scribner's Magazine* of November, 1891, by Mr. John H. Gould, on "The Ocean Steamship as a Freight Carrier." Both writers agree in what is patent to all others as well as to them, that the American foreign carrying trade is rapidly becoming annihilated. Mr. Gould observes:

"Every nation is interested in the extension of its ocean freight-carrying business. The welfare of the farmer, the artisan, and the merchant is interwoven with that of men who live on the sea. Commerce and the industries go hand in hand, and the magnificent showing that the former makes is only an indication of the prosperity of the latter. No more apt illustration of the growth of the American nation in the last quarter of a century can be pointed out than the development of her ocean traffic."

Now, the magnificent showing of commerce here presented applies to the United States; but the prosperity of the "ocean freight-carrying business," with which he would connect it, applies to almost every other civilized nation under the sun, which we have protected in the transportation of our commerce to the exclusion of our own people, as Mr. Gould himself has shown. The facts he has adduced in proof of this are in direct opposition to Mr. Cramp's theory that our commerce can only be successful if carried on in American-built vessels, which cannot be built unless "the farmer, the artisan, the merchant," and everybody else, including the poor laundresses and shop-girls, contribute their money to confer bounties and subsidies upon Mr. Cramp and his fellow shipbuilders.

One would think that the testimony before the shipping committee, and the subsequent debate in Congress that defeated the monstrous Bounty Bill, of which Mr. Cramp was one of the chief engineers, had disposed of the "historic lie" that Great Britain grants subsidies for the promotion of shipbuilding, or that she subsidizes the infinitesimal part of her immense steam fleet for any purposes whatever other than those of postal necessity and those for adaptation to naval requirements. The results of the Subsidy

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Bill passed by the last Congress should effectually dispel the illusion that legislation of this kind will promote shipbuilding or the carrying trade. It was a direct and needless bonus to already existing steamship companies, who will not be induced by it to build a single vessel that they would not have built in the course of their regular business, and who will not reduce their rate of freight or passage one penny for the benefit of the people who have bestowed this bounty upon them. And yet the president of the New York Chamber of Commerce, in the otherwise exceedingly able article contributed to THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW of October last, is still so infatuated with the idea that the Pacific Mail Steamship Company ought to be in some way hired to carry all American goods, that he introduces this paragraph into his discussion of "Our Business Prospects":

> "It is a humiliating fact that every bale of New England-made goods destined for China is shipped by the Canadian Pacific Railway to Vancouver, and from thence to its destination by English steamers, and this large traffic has been diverted from the American railways and from the Pacific Mail steamers because that line of steamers has not heretofore been able to compete with the English government subsidy."

A part of this is quite true, notwithstanding that a considerable subsidy was given to the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, and, large as that subsidy is, this state of things is likely to continue. But it is not because the steamers of that line are unable to compete with the English lines. The ships of the latter are all built so that they may serve as men-of-war if required, as are the "City of Paris" and other steamers of like class on the Atlantic. Consequently a great deal of weight is added and a great deal of room thrown out in order to adapt them to this purpose. Moreover, the speed required necessitates heavy machinery and an enormous consumption of coal. Therefore, with all the subsidy they receive on this account, they cannot carry freight any cheaper than the Pacific Mail Company's ships.

Senator Edmunds, who is quite as much of a Protectionist as Mr. Smith, hit upon the cause which the latter does not apprehend, when he said that "we cannot fight the laws of nature with congressional enactments." The Senator had studied geography in his youth, and Mr. Smith seemingly had not. Mr. Edmunds knew that degrees of longitude are shorter as we advance to the pole; Mr. Smith, perhaps, had not yet made that discovery.

Now, a Lowell mill-owner, however much he may talk of the

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"patriotism of home industry," has an eye to the main chance, and does not care a button under what flag his merchandise is shipped if he can get it speedily to market. The shortest way from Lowell to China is by the Canadian Pacific Railway and the British steamers from Vancouver. It may be a "humiliating fact" to Mr. Smith, but if he has any fault to find it should be with the Creator, who flattened the earth, instead of bulging it out, at the poles.

Mr. Cramp is careful to mention the British lines that are subsidized, but he had not sufficient space to mention the vast majority of the lines and the almost innumerable "tramps" that receive no subsidy or bounty whatever. Fortunately for his purpose, Germany does subsidize a single steamship line plying to the East Indies, and from this he draws the inference that Germany subsidizes all her steamships "indirectly."

It is the boast of Mr. Cramp that he can build for the same money a steamship equal in all respects to any that are built upon the Clyde; and yet he has never built one. Why not? The Inman and the Red Star lines, some of whose ships are subsidized and some not, are owned chiefly by American citizens, who would be glad to see their own flag fly at their peaks, did our laws permit. But if, as is the case at present, they must fly a foreign flag, they would obtain the same subsidy from England or from Belgium that is now accorded them, did Mr. Cramp build the ships for them. Messrs. Peter Wright & Co., being Philadelphians, would naturally give him the preference over a British shipbuilder, were he able to fulfil the conditions. Moreover, these gentlemen have signified their willingness to avail themselves of the subsidy offered by Congress to American-built ships, of $4 per ton per mile, for the sake of having some of their steamships under their own flag, if an American shipbuilder will build them as cheaply and in as satisfactory a manner as they are built upon the other side of the Atlantic. But thus far we have heard of no such proposition on the shipbuilders' part. Mr. Cramp complains that this subsidy of $4 per mile does not afford sufficient "encouragement" for the American shipbuilder to compete with the English subsidized lines. Then why does he not, with or without this bonus, try his hand against the unsubsidized ships? The reply to this will doubtless be the stereotyped one that "the difficulty lies in the cost of sailing the ships, and not

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in the cost of building them. American captains, officers, and sailors would not be content with the pay and food accorded to foreigners. We want a bounty for them and not for ourselves." But American captains and officers do sail in these foreign ships; and in the great ocean carrying trade there are more of them thus employed than under their own flag. As for the sailors, there is but the smallest proportion of them in our navy and merchant marine who are Americans. The sailor is still, as he has been, to my knowledge and in my experience, for the last half-century, a merchantable commodity, purchased at the landlord's price without the slightest regard to the ensign that flies at the peak of the ship.

Crossing lately in a steamship of the Red Star Line, sailing under the Belgian flag, but owned almost exclusively by our countrymen, I asked the American captain what would be the difference in the cost of running his ship if her nationality were transferred. "No difference whatever," he replied, "excepting in the cost of the bunting made in General Butler's protected mill."

Mr. Gould furnishes a list, which, however, is not complete, of trans-Atlantic steamship lines running from the port of New York, numbering 29 and aggregating 236 ships, with a tonnage of 969,573. Although Americans own the majority of the stock in some of them, they are all under foreign flags, as Americans are forbidden to hoist their own national colors over their own property.

At the head of the list stand the four lines largest in ships and tonnage, neither of which has ever received a shilling from its government beyond mere letter postage, and the first and greatest not even that. The Wilson and Anchor line ships are all built in Great Britain. Some of the North German Lloyd and Hamburg-American are still built there, as all of them were until by the policy of free ships the Germans learned to build their ships at home—that disastrous policy which Mr. Cramp says would cause "the destruction of American shipbuilding." It would, indeed, be most singular if it should cause the destruction of shipbuilding in the United States, when it has promoted it in all other countries. At the outset, when the iron steamship superseded the wooden sailing ship, the people of all nations, excepting our own, who were forbidden to do so, went to England for their ships; and now, not only Germany, but France,

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Italy, Russia, Spain, Brazil, and even Japan and China, are building ships for themselves. And from that era the carrying trade of all these nations has greatly increased, while ours has dwindled to almost nothing. If any of them have given "encouragement," as Mr. Cramp asserts, in the way of subsidies, it has been for postal and not for shipbuilding purposes, as is instanced by the fact that the subsidies have been paid to English-built ships as well as to their own.

Mr. Cramp still hopes to see his favorite policy of a general bounty "adopted at no distant day." In the meantime he will do all in his power, as he has done heretofore, to discourage any kind of American shipowning that does not bring money to the pockets of the domestic shipbuilders.

Ten years ago Mr. John Roach, who entertained similar ideas to those of Mr. Cramp, estimated that the money paid to foreigners for doing our carrying trade amounted to $140,000,000 annually. Since that time it has vastly increased, until it will certainly be much more than $200,000,000 this present year. Were we permitted to own ships, we might not only appropriate a great part of this immense sum to ourselves, but we should have a source for our navy to draw upon in time of war, instead of leaving it to depend for the manning of its ships on men picked up from all the nationalities of the earth—men who have not one patriotic American instinct in their breasts. But we must forego all these advantages, forsooth, until that "no distant day" anticipated by Mr. Cramp when we shall all contribute to the eleemosynary fund that he demands. His anticipation was not realized by the legislation of the last Congress, which was largely Republican in all its branches. It certainly will not be realized in the present Congress, where the majority of the House of Representatives is so largely Democratic. On the contrary, a free-ship bill will most assuredly be there introduced and passed. It is even possible that the Senate may accept it, with some modifications, and that the President may attach his signature to it. At all events, it will be the beginning of the end. The power of obstruction will fall from the hands of the Maine and Delaware shipbuilders, and they will be forced to the conclusion that the best thing they can do is to get up from their knees and go to work in the endeavor to rival and perhaps surpass the ships of the Clyde.

JOHN CODMAN.

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OUR COMMERCIAL RELATIONS WITH CHILI.

BY WILLIAM E. CURTIS, CHIEF OF THE BUREAU OF AMERICAN REPUBLICS.

THE foreign commerce of Chili averages annually about $125,000,000; and it is the only one of the nineteen American republics, with the exception of the United States, whose balance of trade is regularly upon the right side of the ledger. The statistics of the commerce of the other Latin-American nations have usually shown an excess of imports, and the balance has been paid in coin borrowed in Great Britain and the money markets of the European continent to promote internal improvements and private enterprises.

The commercial prosperity of Chili is largely due to the possession of vast deposits of precious metals, and the almost unlimited beds of nitrate of soda which underlie the sands of the desert which stretches for more than a thousand miles between the Andes and the ocean. These nitrate beds are owned by corporations or individuals, who pay a large export tax to the government upon the saltpetre and other products into which nitrate is converted. The government receives from this export tax an income reaching annually to the sum of $20,000,000 or $25,000,000, which has been used in extending the comprehensive system of internal improvements that has contributed so much to the rapid development of the natural resources of the country. In addition to the nitrate beds owned by corporations or individuals, there is a large tract remaining in possession of the government. This has been surveyed with the intention of selling it at auction to the public, but as the production of nitrate is now fully equal to the demand, it has been decided a better policy to defer the sale for the present.

The population of Chili by the last census was 2,665,926, but these figures are believed to be much below the actual number of

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inhabitants, because of the reluctance of the common people to be enumerated. An accurate and complete census would doubtless show a total population of at least three millions, and probably more, without including the savage and half-civilized tribes in the southern provinces.

The foreign debt amounts to about $45,000,000 in United States currency, which was contracted chiefly for the construction of railways and other public improvements; and the bonds of the country bearing 4½ per cent. interest have, until the recent revolution, been held above par. There are about 2,400 miles of railway in operation, a considerable portion belonging to the government, and there were about seven hundred additional miles under construction when the trouble between the late President and the Congress occurred last spring. Now that peace has been restored, work upon these lines will doubtless be promptly resumed.

The most important road under construction is that which is intended to connect the railway system of the country and its Pacific ports with the line that has already been opened across the continent from Buenos Ayres to the western boundary of the Argentine Republic, and give the commerce of Chili an outlet to the Atlantic, thus avoiding the long voyage through the Straits of Magellan. The rails are already laid to the mountain wall that separates the two republics, and through that an English company is now engaged in piercing a tunnel about three miles in length that will cost many millions of dollars.

Of the exports of Chili about three-fourths are annually purchased by Great Britain, and the greater part of the remainder by France and Germany, although in 1890 the official returns showed a direct commerce with thirty-one nations. These exports consist of mineral products, silver, copper, and nitrate of soda,—which compose about 75 per cent. of the whole,—and agricultural products, wheat, wool, flour, hides, and skins. About one-half the wheat goes to Europe. The rest is divided between Peru, Ecuador, and Panama. In early times—the days of the Argonauts—Chili supplied California with flour and other breadstuffs. Then during the war between Chili and Spain California introduced and retained the trade upon the west coast, but the agricultural resources of Chili were rapidly developed a few years since, and now she claims all the markets for breadstuffs

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on the Pacific south of Panama, and with her present population will be able to supply them, although her capacity for production has been restricted by nature.

The commerce of Chili with the United States is very limited, and varies annually from five to six millions of dollars, which is very nearly equally divided between imports and exports. She sends us a few cargoes of nitrates and saltpetre, a little carpet wool, and a few hides and skins. The duties collected upon our imports from Chili during the last year amounted to less than $200,000. She buys of us annually cotton goods to the value of half a million dollars; a similar amount of lumber and furniture; nearly as much refined petroleum; a little more than that value in manufactures of iron and steel, including railway supplies; about $100,000 worth of agricultural implements; the same amount of mining machinery and electrical supplies; a small amount of provisions, a little refined sugar, and a few other articles which her merchants cannot elsewhere obtain. The business is almost entirely conducted by three houses, one in Boston and two in New York. These firms have sailing vessels, which make regular voyages around Cape Horn, carrying selected merchandise to their agents in Valparaiso, and bringing return cargoes of wool and nitrates of soda which are used in the manufacture of fertilizers. There is a small business done also with San Francisco, chiefly through the same houses.

It is very seldom that an ordinary merchant in Chili comes to the United States to purchase goods. It is quite as infrequent that the people of that country come here as tourists, although the fine steamers that sail between Valparaiso and Europe are usually crowded with passengers. The social and commercial relations between the two countries have never been more intimate. High tide in trade was reached in 1890, when our imports from Chili were valued at $3,183,249, and our exports at $3,236,945.

The foreign commerce of Chili is controlled and almost monopolized by Great Britain, and many of the great commercial houses in England have branches in Valparaiso and other ports. During the last few years a great deal of German capital has been introduced into Chili, and some of the largest commercial houses are now controlled by merchants of that nationality. The banking capital is mostly held by natives, but Englishmen and Germans are found among the directors of the financial institutions.

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British subjects are numerous and prominent in the membership of her boards of trade, stock exchanges, and other commercial organizations, and in Valparaiso the English language is spoken almost as commonly as the Spanish. There are a few American families in Chili, and the Protestant missionary work and Protestant schools are largely sustained by the religious organizations which have their headquarters in New York, but in social as well as in commercial circles their influence is small compared with that exercised by the large English colony. The cities along the coast, from Valparaiso northward for more than a thousand miles, are largely populated by English subjects, and should they be attacked in case of war, England would suffer more than Chili.

In 1889, the latest year for which complete statistics are obtainable, Great Britain purchased $48,000,000 of the $66,000,000 of produce exported by Chili. In 1888 Great Britain purchased $57,000,000 of the $73,000,000 exported. In 1889 Great Britain furnished $28,000,000 of the $65,000,000 imported by Chili, and in 1888 she furnished $26,000,000 of the $60,000,000 imported. These imports consisted entirely of manufactured merchandise, the largest item being cotton goods and other forms of wearing apparel. Wines and fancy articles, the finer qualities of wearing apparel, and other luxuries are purchased from France and Germany.

It is not probable that there will ever be any considerable amount of commerce between Chili and the United States. The natural conditions forbid it, and the lines of trade are so thoroughly established that unless her commercial relations with Great Britain and Germany should be entirely cut off, the business of the country will still be conducted through the branch houses which the manufacturers and merchants of London, Liverpool, Birmingham, Manchester, and Hamburg have had long and firmly established at Valparaiso and other ports of the republic. The trade relations between England and Chili are as fixed as they are with Calcutta and Bombay, and the younger sons of the British merchants find their commercial career in Valparaiso as naturally as they do in Sydney or any other of the colonies of that empire upon which the sun never sets.

We do not need the nitrates of Chili as they are required by the impoverished soil of Europe, nor her copper or silver, and

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there is very little of her products, except wool, that we could use. If a reciprocity treaty could be negotiated under which her wools should be admitted free into our ports in exchange for equivalent concessions in favor of our cotton goods, machinery, agricultural implements, and other manufactured articles, the trade between the two nations might be increased to the amount of a few millions of dollars annually. But such an arrangement is impossible. There is no reason or inducement for Chili to make tariff concessions in favor of the United States. She is not seeking new markets, and it is not necessary for her to seek them. Her wool finds favor and ready sale in England and Belgium to the extent of her capacity for production; her import duties are the lowest imposed by any American nation, and the greater part of those derived from the United States are already on the free list. To discriminate in favor of a country with which she has comparatively no commercial relations, and which could not increase her commerce or her prosperity, would be a preposterous proposition. Aside from the influence of foreign tradesmen, which would be united against it, no ambitious politician in Chili would advocate or defend so unpopular and unprofitable a negotiation.

The United States can reach the markets of Brazil and the other republics of America by the negotiation of reciprocity treaties and the intelligent enlistment of private enterprise; but in Chili there is little hope of extending our export trade beyond what can be accomplished by offering her people merchandise of a superior quality to that which can be furnished by Europe.

The people of that republic are intelligent, highly educated, and luxurious in their tastes. In the shops of Valparaiso and Santiago may be purchased everything that can be found in Paris or London. The residences of the rich are as sumptuously furnished as any of the palaces on Fifth Avenue, New York. The schools and universities of the country are equal to those of any other on the globe, and the educated classes surpass those of the United States in linguistic accomplishments. It is very seldom that you find a lady in Chili who cannot converse fluently in at least one foreign language, and some can speak two or three languages besides their own. The fashions of Paris reach Santiago as soon as they reach New York, and the Alameda and parks of Santiago are as brilliant of an afternoon as Rotten Row or Central Park. The highest degree of luxury is demanded by all who

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can afford it, and they will buy the best they can obtain, no matter where it comes from.

Therefore the manufacturers of the United States can expect to sell merchandise in Chili only by sending there articles of a quality superior to those their rivals in Europe produce. The telephone, the electric light, and all other modern inventions intended to promote the comfort and convenience of life, are more readily accepted there than in almost any other country; and the mining and milling interests demand and procure the most improved and economical machinery that can be furnished them.

The agricultural resources of Chili are limited. They will never enable that country to compete with the United States, the Argentine Republic, Australasia, and other great producers of breadstuffs, and all the cereals raised in Chili will be required for domestic consumption as the population increases. Nor are the present conditions such as to encourage great agricultural immigration, as in the countries named. The public domain in the northern provinces consists mainly of a desert covered with sand, and rugged ranges of mountains that shelter vast mineral wealth.

The fertile valleys in the populated districts are held in great estates by families who reside at Santiago and in other cities, and cultivate them upon the same system that prevails in England and Ireland. Towards the south there are agricultural lands of considerable extent, and the government is now constructing a railway to encourage their development.

The mercantile element of the country are generally foreigners. The professional men, the politicians, the officers of the army and navy, the directors of large institutions and establishments, the managers of estates, and the owners of mines are natives. The national pride and patriotism are intense, and are found to an even greater degree among the women than among the men. No one who has not studied the social and political conditions of the country upon the ground can appreciate the ardor with which a citizen of Chili will maintain what he conceives to be the honor and integrity of his nation; and in a contest with a foreign power the people would sacrifice everything rather than submit to interference or subjugation. The native race of Chili was never overcome, and it has been strengthened rather than diluted by mixing with the best stock of Spain.

WILLIAM E. CURTIS.

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THE OLYMPIAN RELIGION.

I.—ITS SOURCES AND AUTHORSHIP (CONTINUED).

BY THE RIGHT HONORABLE WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE.

THE actual position of Homer, as a transcendent workman, in relation to the materials of his work, ought, in order to come at the truth of the case, to be comprehensively considered.

It was evidently a position very different from that of Buddha, of Zoroaster, or of Mahomet. Yet, in the result of his life and thought, it has some important, though diversified, approximations to theirs. For, like them, he constructed, or adjusted, a public religion, which also, in adjusting, he reformed; though unlike them in this, that his product was more a work of art, and less a work of religion, properly so called. We have actually before our eyes, in the "Iliad" and "Odyssey," a religious system, which distinctively belongs to the Poems, and of this system, as it stands there, he, if he composed the Poems, was unquestionably the immediate artificer. For surely no one who has drunk deep into the spirit of these great works can say that he was only a faithful copyist, who noted down with care the particulars of an established national cult, such as only required to be diligently transferred from usage into song. For if we examine the theurgy of the Poems, we find that it is as warm, as instinct with vitality, and as dramatic as any part of the human or terrestrial action. And more. Those admitted into the studio of a painter, when he has his work in progress, and who are permitted to gaze at it, readily enough find that it has not yet attained its finished or normal state: a limb, a hand, a vestment, tells us that it is not a thing formed, but only forming. Just so it is with the Olympian religion in Homer, as compared with the picture offered us by the classic times. In this later picture everything has been in a manner stereotyped, and so remains.

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But observe for a moment such relations as are exhibited to us in the Theomachy among the divinities themselves; or, in the fifth "Iliad," as between certain gods and human warriors; or in respect of deities like Dionusos and Aphroditè, who have only, as it were, an embyronic relation to the Achaian nation. We cannot do otherwise than at once refer phenomena so peculiar to ethnical and circumstantial causes which had not yet exhausted their motive force: we see that the system was still in a condition of flux, and that the materials had not yet everywhere coagulated. The composite character of the half-formed nation, Greek or Achaian, whichever it be called, which causes, also explains, this remarkable phenomenon. I have already adverted to the fact that there were several factors of the community, indigenous or immigrant, and that they could not but have their several religious traditions. Both the ethnical and the religious elements would take time to settle down into their several locations. Great poems produced in such a state of facts would bear the marks of what is termed in trade a "going" concern, of mobile material and an advancing process. Nay, such poems, the rarest productions of man, might—perhaps it ought to be said they would—themselves become part and parcel of the motive force for pushing that process onwards, and for determining its eventual conditions. And the brain of the man who made the poems could not but be, in an indefinable but possibly not inconsiderable degree, the maker also of the religion. To some extent we may have the means of ascertaining what were the aims with which he wrought; for example, whether the combinations and adjustments of the Poems, both in Olympian and in terrestrial respects, are such as to show that the Poet was evidently a worker in the interest of, or with a view to bringing about, a full-formed national unity. For, if that purpose were in his serious contemplation, then, among the means of attaining it, he would not overlook the consolidation and proper construction of the religious traditions which had to travel from a state more or less chaotic or promiscuous to a state of unity and order.

We have, then, to contemplate Homer in his workshop. It is the great workshop of his brain, and all around him lies the material on which he has to operate. It has been drawn mainly from the men of Pelasgian and Achaian birth, or from those Phœ-

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nician by extraction, who had coalesced into a whole, but whose several contributions to that whole were still, at the points of juncture, made sufficiently distinct. These men had their several traditions, and their leanings or habits in a variety of matters; in social relations, in polity, and in religion. On the first two of these great subjects he has not presented to us an elaborated pattern. It was enough for him to record particular facts and ideas, without any strict coördination into a uniform and normal system. With regard to religion the case is different. Here, and here only, he has framed and transmitted to us an artfully-compacted scheme.

It would be ridiculous to suppose that even his mental force was sufficient to mould the ideas, and, above all, the usages, of a community far from homogeneous, into positive uniformity. In truth, they never were so manipulated at all, at any period of their history. The varied testimonies of classical antiquity, the work of Strabo in its notices of things sacred, above all, the remarkable itinerary, so to call it, of Pausanias, which, in mapping out the country, exhibits the immensely various worships of Greece, so far as they were worships carried on by each local community, all these show us distinctly that in practice the Olympian system included an aggregate of local cults sufficiently numerous to exhibit large diversities of distribution, and still to bear testimony to considerable differences of origin. Even this is not all. The evidence thus conveyed is only such as had a basis in visible remains, in structures more or less permanent. Could we in Greece, as at Pompeii, examine private interiors, we should probably open a new chapter of knowledge in the particulars of domestic worships. When Eumaios* dedicated two portions of his meal as first fruits, the one to Hermes, the other to the Nymphs, it is possible that his house was not without visible symbols of the personages thus represented in the abstract. Or, at any rate, we may assume the likelihood of such domestic decorations in houses of a certain social plane, and in the historic times, when the resources of art had come to be more fully developed and more widely applicable.†

*Od., XIV., 435.

†In January, 1890, through the kind courtesy of the authorities, I witnessed at Pompeii a *scavo*, or excavation, of a portion of a painter's house. On the wall, at a certain level, there were painted figures, apparently of his Penates, in very small dimensions. Beneath them, on another level, was the figure of a serpent, in very large dimensions: the more noteworthy as being found at that centre of an advanced and luxurious civilization.

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But no emblems of this interesting class survive to enlarge and integrate our knowledge of Achaian religion.

It is important to bear in mind that, whatever devastation may thus have been brought about by time, it did not in all likelihood operate with the same force on the several component parts of the religion of the country. Phœnician and Achaian influences were all associated with political power and with property. The religious ideas belonging to these sources probably shaped for themselves at an early date the temples and shrines which supplied the records of Pausanias. But if the elements of the Pelasgian or popular creed were different, and differently compounded, it is probable that they remain comparatively destitute of representation of that kind. We have, indeed, abundant traces in the Poems of a system of Nature-worship which had been, or was being, thrown into the shade by the more imposing hierarchy of Olympos. This the Poet himself everywhere labors to depress as far as the nature of his office permitted; a limitation of his power necessary to be observed, for as that office was essentially popular, so it required him to keep his verse in sympathy with the entire people. This old Pelasgian system crops out incessantly in the Poems; and from the permanence of popular traditions in such matters, we may conjecture that it subsisted largely in the ideas and dwellings of the masses, while it appears but slightly in the architecture, the art, the public institutions, and likewise finds little place in the literature, of the country. In these great departments Olympianism has reigned supreme.

The local and domestic Nature-worships, on which we may suppose that the people fed, had no effectual centre of unity. We do not know how far they may have been kept alive in the Mysteries, to which no certain key seems yet to have been found. Some provision was probably made for the unity of national religion by the developed institution of the Olympian games in the eighth century B. C., and by a paramount worship of Zeus in connection with them. We seem thus to obtain a glimpse of the open space which it may have remained for Homer to fill. He could not pass an act of uniformity, nor fuse into one working scheme for daily life all the several cults that prevailed in the several neighborhoods, or among races which might long retain at least a portion of their distinctive characteristics. But, on the literary side at least, there was nothing to prevent the initiation

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of a great unifying process in religion. This for himself, and in the main for his successors, the Poet seems to have accomplished. Doubtless, even in the literary aspect of the case, all the main lines were already drawn, the chief objects of worship ready to hand, the limits of his freedom as an artist fixed. Within those limits he worked genially, richly, and to the utmost of his vast power as a creative intellect. Study the Iris of Homer, whose delicate tints and gracious outline can hardly be said to have lived into the classical mythology. Study the Leto of Homer, so glorious,* so mysterious, and so pure, who outside the "Iliad" passes almost wholly out of sight. Observe the Apollo, who out of reverence will not fight Poseidon; † the Athenè, who refrains from visible action when on her uncle's special ground in Scherië; ‡ the incessant adjustments effected between the local and the central power. In these and in a multitude of other points we are almost forced to see how, if in the matter of the Achaian religion it was not given to Homer to create, yet it was given him to develop, to harmonize, and to modify. There was one power, of itself a vast power, of which poets then had a monopoly among men, and Homer among poets; the power of record. Within proper limits, with a fine discernment of the capacities and the yearnings of his race, he could affix the stamp of perpetuity, perhaps could even sometimes pass the decree of oblivion; and could by the exercise of his gift impart to his Olympian scheme interest, beauty, dignity, that were to last throughout all time, even when he did not minister directly to the religious wants of his own and the following generations.

Through long and obstinate neglect of the Homeric Poems as a subject of independent inquiry, an idea requiring large correction has obtained superficial but wide acceptance in this if not in other countries; that the religion exhibited in the Homeric Poems subsisted without material change through the historic age of Greece, and also corresponded, in all that was material, with that which prevailed in the Italy of the Romans, and which was finally, after a long struggle, overthrown by the slowly-victorious advance of Christianity.

Now, in truth, the religion which was professed from the days of Homer, and which dominated the entire Greek and Roman periods, if taken at its inception and at its ending, was and was

* ἐρικύδης: Il., XIV., 327. † Il., XXI., 461. ‡ Od., VI., 329.

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not the same religion. It was the same religion, in this respect—that at no epoch during that course of over fifteen hundred years was there a general or palpable breach in the continuity of its traditions; while the names and individualities of its deities were reputed to be maintained. But it was not the same in so far that its ethical tone had, not indeed uniformly, but on the whole seriously, declined; that the traces visible in it of any primitive monotheism had nearly disappeared; that a mass of new and heterogeneous matter had overlaid it, and had altered the more delicate lines of its features; that both the personal characters and the relative positions of the several members of the thearchy were materially tampered with; and that it had become impossible definitely to trace home to their several birthplaces, by historical derivation, the multitudinous elements of which it was compounded.

But the Homeric religion, taken as a whole, exhibits all the notes of a fresh formation. The ingredients of which it is composed, modified perhaps by Homer's genius, and each allotted to its proper place in his system, bear upon them to a very large extent the stamp of the race, the country, the line of tradition, from which they were severally derived. We can thus follow them, at the least, one stage nearer to their first form by treating them according to what may be termed their ethnographic mark.

And this process is aided, as well as certified, by the large and varied illustrations which the religions of Troas, and of the lands comprised within the outer geography of the "Odyssey," supply for clearing our ideas of the great Homeric theanthropy both by comparison and by contrast.

It may properly be asked how the present inquiry stands related to the great science termed that of comparative religion. The answer is that it is strictly an investigation belonging to the domain of comparative religion; not, however, of comparative religion at large, but with reference first to Homer and secondly to the sources from which he drew. First, noting the places of the several divinities in the Olympian thearchy, we inquire how they come by those places; and we perceive that the niches in the Homeric temple were in all likelihood obtained in virtue of their actual recognition in some branch or other of the popular worship; of their relation to one or other of the factors from which the Greek nation was constructed. In referring, then, to these

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ethnical factors, we at once work out an important chapter of comparative religion. We have to undertake a further process in the same branch of science so soon as we follow any of these divinities, in time, up to the preëxistent worships of the Greek peninsula; or, in both time and place, as in cases like those of Poseidon, Artemis, or Aphroditè, beyond the territorial limit of the lands under the sway of Agamemnon. But this is only when we can trace them upwards to their older homes in virtue of suggestions furnished by the materials of the text.

Within these limits, so far as I can discern, is confined the primary mission of the Homeric student. To examine the points of resemblance between the Homeric divinities and those of other ancient systems without limit would be a work of great interest, but of wider scope, and one that could hardly be undertaken with advantage until inquirers shall have more nearly arrived at common conclusions upon the religion as it is exhibited in the Homeric Poems, and when considered as a substantive and independent sphere of study. The natural limit of our subject will thus be found in the material supplied by the Poems, combined with that which was anterior to but associated with them.

I have here spoken of comparative religion, not of comparative mythology. The use of this latter phrase, if it be strictly taken, involves ideas which appear to me not wholly true, and possibly mischievous with reference to the present investigation. If mythology may be defined as the science which deals with fable, it implies that in ancient religion all is fabulous. I do not say that the word religion implies the contradictory proposition: for, so far as the term goes, the bond between earth and heaven which it declares may have been a bond of purely human manufacture. On the other hand, it may have been one framed, as the races of civilized man have hitherto believed, not without some special dispensation of the Deity. So that the phrase I use leaves entirely open an important question, which ought not to be prejudged, but held in reserve for consideration upon the evidence, so far as it may be relevant. If we find that, so far as the proposed inquiry goes, it presents to us signs that, like the mechanical arts, religion was for the Greek race progressive, and tended, under the action of our human powers as they now exist, gradually to shake off its impurities, to consolidate its principles, to elevate its aims, and to establish its command over sentiment

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and life, then our inquiry supplies us with no reason to refer it, upon internal evidence, to a superhuman origin. But if, on the contrary, we should perceive in it a proneness to assimilate corrupt admixture, and to decline in simplicity of structure and therewith of moral power; if it is found to be from the past that the rays of light proceed, and if the spiritual atmosphere, on the whole, appears to darken as we advance, then we shall have found in human experience some grounds for believing that the fountain-head of religion is divine; as it seems plain that man never could have been able to create that which he would then be proved, by the evidence of facts, to have been unable duly to conserve.

It may be well to give further explanations on the inception of the religion represented in Homer. It seems to be plain that, in dealing with the religion which is found in Homer, we deal with a scheme as yet in the first stage of its existence. The materials are old, but the combination is new. The worship of Dionusos, afterwards so largely developed in Greece, and a manifest element of its practical system, is mentioned by Homer with the use of terms which show that it had not as yet established itself in the popular affections.* The worship of Aphroditè is described as appertaining especially to Cyprus, with Paphos† for its centre, and it had evidently advanced to Cytherè;‡ but there is no mention of it within the Achaian borders. The transactions in the island of Ithaca, as they are detailed in the "Odyssey," appear to show us the religion of the place in a state of actual transition from an older system to that embodied in the Poems. The Hellenic families or tribes, as distinguished from the Pelasgian or other prior inhabitants, were of recent arrival; and even the families associated with the Phœnician name, which had come in all likelihood from the southeast, cannot be traced back beyond four or five generations; so that there had not been a very long time for religious varieties to accommodate themselves to new positions. The splendid presentation of them, in an elaborately-constructed scheme, could not be otherwise than novel. The exterior edges, so to speak, of the original factors of the system are still in the main discernible; while the Olympian summits supply its working centre, and its acknowledged home.

Because it is so associated with Mount Olympos, and because it is desirable to give a name to the present subject which may

* Il., VI., 132. † Od., VIII., 363. ‡ Od., VIII., 288; XVIII., 192.

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sufficiently distinguish it from the unreduced and irreducible mass of traditions afterwards accumulated during a long and shifting history, I have called it the Olympian religion. My account, however, of the religion of the Poems will naturally include the important illustrations which it receives from beyond the Hellenic borders in such portions of them as have their scene laid in foreign lands, and as are consequently in natural contact with the traditions of other races and nations.

For it holds good universally, I believe, in early times, that each differing nation, or race, or combination of men having a standing community of pursuit, interest, or existence, had also its own distinct religious traditions. If so, there is an indissoluble connection between ethnography and comparative religion. And this union is most of all important in such a case as that before us. For here we are happy in being able both to note the principal component parts of the aggregate, and to mark them by particulars of time and place: as in astronomy distances are measured away from the surface of the earth by ascertaining a plurality of points, so these schemes of religion may, by the light they throw on one another, assist us in establishing their common principles, or in fixing their points of divergence, or in tracing them upwards in the direction of a common origin.

Although ethnography supplies in a considerable degree the basis of the Achaian religion, it necessarily forms in itself the subject of a separate inquiry, dependent upon the collation of a multitude of particulars taken from the text of the poems. At present we can only adopt and apply the main conclusion to which such an examination leads. It establishes, I conceive, by conclusive evidence, that the nation which, according to the "Iliad," made war upon Troy, was not of one blood like the descendants of Abraham, but was essentially composite. Of this compound there were three principal ingredients.

First, there was the race, doubtless including varieties, which formed the mass and groundwork of the nation, and which, in the general tradition of Greece, passes under the Pelasgian name.* This race we may trace through the "Iliad" by its subordinate position; by the strength of the distinctions drawn between the aristocracy and the mass of the army; by the significant use of personal names associated with industrial pursuits;

* *e. g.*, Æsch., "Hiketides," 265, seqq.

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and by the association of this name in particular with that one of the three established national designations which is neither archaic and military like the Danaan, nor aristocratic like the Achaian name. I mean the Argeian name, which, in the "Iliad," has a certain affinity, so to speak, with the πληθυϊ ,* or rank and file, of the army, and which by etymological derivation probably points to occupations purely agricultural.

Next to this in date we have to place the Phœnician element; numerically small, but socially and intellectually powerful. There is even some reason to suppose that the Poet recognized this element as one of the twin sources from which he drew the commanding characters of his protagonists;† and that, if Achilles was his authentic model of the Hellenic hero, Odysseus represented for him that form of the heroic character which has a Phœnician basis. The notes of Phœnician association supplied by him are numerous; and they extend to several of the worships indicated in the Poems; to those in particular of Poseidon, Hermes, and Aphroditè. It must, however, be carefully borne in mind that the Phœnician name in Homer includes all that came into the peninsula with and through the Phœnician navigators.

The third great ethnical ingredient which may have supplied the poet with materials for his Olympian system was furnished by that higher race which supervened upon the older inhabitants of the Greek peninsula. Of this race, at the period of the Poems, the main seat is in a part of Thessaly. Its type is enlarged into a colossal image in the character of Achilles; and it seems to be especially associated by Homer with the Hellenic name.‡ The materials of detailed proof, in this third department of the case, are more scanty than in the two which have previously been mentioned. They may be said to be almost confined to the solemn prayer of Achilles in Book XVI. of the "Iliad." But while the particulars, as to religion at least, are meagre, the presence of this higher factor is undeniable, and arguments of high probability

* Il., II., 488; XV., 295.

† See "Phœnician Affinities of Ithaca," in *Nineteenth Century* for August, 1889.

‡ Il., II., 681-685. The geographical and ethnological particulars, which throw so much light on the religious indications of the Poems, can only in this paper be given summarily as results. The grounds for my conclusions in these departments have been stated by me more largely in former works: "Studies on Homer and his Age" (1858), Vol. I. (but the statements of this earlier work require considerable correction); "Juventus Mundi" (1869), chapters III.-VI., and "Homeric Primer" (1878), chapter VII.

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indicate its important share in the office of supplying the materials for the Olympian fabric. For there is, as we shall find, a mass of evidence in the Poems which absolutely refuses association either with the Pelasgian or the Phœnician systems of religion. The most remarkable portion of it is connected with the characters of Athenè and Apollo; but it embraces a number of varied points, and the whole of it concurs in admitting only one rational explanation. Like a relationship established by likeness of feature, these particulars, unlike anything that we find either in the indigenous religions or in those imported by or through the Phœnicians, require us to search for their parentage elsewhere. They, indeed, bear a strong intrinsic resemblance to a portion of the Hebrew traditions, as they are recorded in the Book of Genesis, as well as to other occasional portions of the old traditionary religions.

It follows from what has been already said that we shall have to inquire, at the proper stage of our inquiry, how far and in what particulars the grounds can now be traced for the opinion of Herodotos that the religion of the Greeks, as connected with the names of the divinities, was largely derived from that of Egypt. A field more abundantly fruitful is offered by the Assyrian monuments, which record matter not within the compass of the inquiries effected by the father of history, and establish at a large number of points a probable or almost certain connection between Olympian ideas and Assyrian or Babylonian originals.

We have also indications, in various degrees of distinctness, as to not less than three forms of the religions outside of Greece, and contemporary with the Poems. These are:

1. The religion of Troas.
2. The Poseidon worship, in a portion of the outer zone of the "Odyssey."
3. The Helios worship, in another portion of the outer zone.

But it is necessary all along to carry with us the recollection of the intense nationalism of Homer, which was the probable cause of his universal silence on the derivation from abroad of whatever in his time was or had become Achaian, whether in arts or institutions, in descent or in religion. We need not, however, suppose him to have been embarrassed by this consideration in his references to worships contemporary and avowedly situated in a foreign land. But with reference to whatever he gives us as a

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portion of Greek life or history, we find ourselves placed by him in a sort of *cul de sac,* which leads us to a certain point, and then furnishes no further passage. When we find that his great families had only been on the ground for a limited time, and that certain Olympian worships had also a modern character, we have to look elsewhere for their origin. But we have either to extract from Homer, as it were by cross-examination, what he probably had no intention to tell us, or else to rely upon similitudes established by foreign archæology and history for so much of knowledge as we can authentically obtain of the exotic sources of the Olympian religion.

W. E. GLADSTONE.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

CONSUMPTION AT HEALTH RESORTS.

DURING a recent visit to the hotels in the Adirondacks and many other health resorts in this country, I was greatly impressed with the slight attention paid to the prevention of the communicability of consumption, which physicians now consider an established fact. Many of my friends and patients have told me that while visiting these resorts they could not help feeling nervous about catching consumption when they saw so many persons around them suffering from this disease.

For this reason I think the time is opportune for the public to be placed in possession of some definite information on this subject, which will give them an opportunity to judge intelligently of the possibilities of infection, and by their influence to insure that the proper precautions are taken to make it quite safe to inhabit the buildings and occupy the rooms their unfortunate consumptive brethren have used.

It is now generally believed by the medical profession that consumption is caused by a specific agent, which if implanted in suitable soil will multiply, develop, and produce the condition known as consumption. This agent is called the bacillus of consumption, and is a minute rod-shaped body belonging to one of the numerous families of bacteria. It is a recent discovery of the microscope. Its development and entire life-history have been carefully studied and are well known. It has been proved by many observers that the bacilli, if injected into animals, will produce consumption; a like result will be produced if they are allowed to inhale air or take food containing the bacilli. No direct experiments could, of course, be made to prove that this communicability extended to the human race; nevertheless, a wonderful combination of circumstances has arisen which makes it almost a certainty that this is the case, and that it is effected in the same ways.

It is only a few months since the entire civilized world was filled with anticipation and wonder by Dr. Koch's discovery for the cure of consumption. Nothing in medicine or surgery ever created so much excitement, and hope was entertained that at last the disease which causes about one-fifth of the deaths of the human race had found its master, and in future would be robbed of all its terrors. In the early days of this "craze" the celebrated German physician, Professor Virchow, warned the profession against the indiscriminate use of this remedy, as he believed that, in place of curing the sufferers from consumption, it disseminated the disease through the body and hastened its course. He was immediately accused of jealousy of Koch, and the craze and injection went on. At this time the composition of the Koch remedy was known only to a few physicians in Germany, and the physicians in other countries depended entirely on their faith in Koch, who had an established reputation for reliability and truth. As soon as Virchow's opinion became known, a few observers endeavored to prove the truth or

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fallacy of his statement, and it was not long before they added their warnings to that of Virchow. There was an immediate reaction when this was announced; for every physician began to have fears, when he learned that Koch's remedy was the product of the bacillus of consumption, that possibly he was only adding fuel to the fire in resorting to its use. Subsequent events have proved the truth of this to a great extent, and there are few physicians who believe in the efficacy of this cure for consumption; but its discovery and use have suggested strongly the possibility of inoculating consumption.

That consumption can be communicated to the lower animals by causing them to inhale air impregnated with bacilli, I have already said, has been proved by experience. To repeat these experiments on the human subject is impracticable, but one case is on record in which the disease was unquestionably taken by inhalation. Tappenier was making some experiments on the possibility of communicating consumption to dogs by causing them to inhale the atmosphere of a room impregnated with its bacilli. His servant, a man forty years old, and free from all hereditary or personal taint, had been cautioned against entering this impregnated room. But in a spirit of bravado he did so many times. He was taken sick, and after an illness of fourteen weeks died; on post-mortem examination it was found that he had the same form of consumption as the dogs that died from exposure in the chamber.

Another remarkable instance is the case of the Fugeans, amongst whom consumption was unknown until a missionary and his wife went to reside there. The latter was suffering from consumption. She took some of the children from their savage state and clothed them and did all she could to educate them. After a short time acute consumption developed amongst these children and many died; but not a single case occurred amongst the children who remained in their savage surroundings.

Many similar instances could be reported from medical literature, were this the proper place to do it. The accumulation of such evidence is becoming so great that every physician of experience feels forced to share the belief in the communicability of consumption. There are also few physicians who have not had one or more cases that for years they have thought had been contracted in this way. One reason why this fact of communication from one to another cannot be more closely followed up by physicians is that patients change their places of residence and their physicians so frequently that it is impossible to obtain that detail of the life-histories which will connect them together.

How else than by communication are we to account for the rapid spread of consumption amongst savage nations, where this disease was unknown before civilized people began to visit them? This is true of our own American Indians, the inhabitants of Central Africa, and many other people. Intermarrying, or any other condition which might make hereditary transmission a possible cause, certainly could not account for its rapid progress. Besides, some of the best observers and investigators believe that consumption is not hereditary, and there is much evidence in favor of this view.

With such evidence of the possibility of inhaling the bacilli, the question would naturally be asked, How do the bacilli get into the atmosphere, when they are not found in the breath of sufferers from this disease? We know positively that in these cases bacilli are present in the mucus which is raised after coughing. In its moist condition it is impossible for it to be inhaled, but when it dries and becomes dust, it is blown about, and it is in this form that it becomes dangerous.

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That this is true can easily be proved by examining the dust or scrapings from the walls or furniture of a room which has been occupied by a consumptive. They will contain the bacilli, and if inoculated into animals, or if animals are made to inhale them, they will produce consumption. Some idea of the number of bacilli which each sufferer must dispose of can be formed from an observation made by Heller. He estimated on a slide under the microscope 1,000,000 germs in a cubic millimetre of the sputa of a consumptive; and from this he further estimated that 300,000,000 bacilli were thrown out at each expectoration. This I think rather high; but it is certain that the number thrown out at each successful cough is very great.

Why some people contract consumption while others subjected to the same exposure escape, we are at present unable to say definitely. We only know that consumption follows the law of all diseases, and that it has a power of selection and needs a suitable soil in which to implant itself.

I think it has been shown that the evidence of the communicability of consumption from one person to another is very strong. The conditions necessary for this communication have also been shown. It should, therefore, not be difficult to answer the query so often made, How can consumption be avoided by those who are susceptible to its bacilli?

First—Every physician who has patients suffering from consumption should instruct them wherein the danger lies to others as well as themselves; for it is not impossible for a consumptive to reinfect himself by uncleanly habits. Consumptives should be impressed with the importance of a proper disposal of the sputa, and effectual means should be employed to prevent its conversion into dust.

Second—The proprietors of hotels in health resorts for these guests should add two or three rules to the ones they have already posted in their bedrooms, and I can safely leave them to the imagination. Suitable cuspidors should also be provided, which should contain a non-smelling disinfectant, and they should be emptied and cleansed morning and evening regularly. It should be made imperative and stand as an unwritten law that cuspidors should always be used. The bedding or any other linen about the room should be removed and cleansed before any sputa on it could become dry. When a guest leaves the hotel, the walls, floor or carpet, and furniture of the room he occupied should be wiped off with a damp cloth. This would be little more trouble than the present method of dusting and cleaning the room, and would take really no more time. Most of the bacilli would in this way be removed from the room, and a new guest would enter it without danger.

Free ventilation should also be amply provided for. All such precautions are carried out in hospitals and places where consumptives reside which are under medical supervision, and this accounts in a great measure for the remarkable escape from consumption of the nurses and attendants in these institutions. The best Adirondack hotels at the present time do carry out some of these suggestions, but still there is room for improvement. The part the general public should take in this matter of precaution is, by the force of their opinion to make it absolutely imperative that proprietors of hotels in health resorts for consumptives should take the precautions referred to, so as to meet the prevailing belief in the communicability of consumption.

This article is not intended to unduly alarm the public, but simply to bring to their appreciation the position they occupy towards this interesting and important subject. Their position is clearly this: that while the great majority can expose themselves with perfect safety to the possibility

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of inhaling the bacilli of consumption, there are others who would be running some risk. With this knowledge in our possession and the means in our power of reducing the danger to a minimum, it is plainly the duty of everybody to assist in making these suggestions operative. When this is done, there can be no doubt that the number of consumptive cases will be very materially lessened.

WALTER F. CHAPPELL, M. D.

HENRY CLAY ON NATIONALIZING THE TELEGRAPH.

THE correspondence, note-books, and private papers of Alfred Vail have lately been deposited in the National Museum at Washington. Mr. Vail was the inventor, in connection with Professor S. F. B. Morse, of the electric telegraph, and it was his mechanical knowledge and inventive genius that gave practical shape to Professor Morse's ideas. Vail was associated with Morse as his partner, and his money constructed the first available Morse instrument and brought about its exhibition before Congress.

These Vail papers show that Vail was a partner of Morse in inventive brain and push, as well as in money. They exhibit hundreds of his own drawings designed for the improvement of the telegraph, and his note-books sparkle with suggestions. It was he who exhibited the machine before Congress in connection with Morse in 1838, and it was he who received the first message over the wires after they were built from Washington to Baltimore. In his papers may be read the whole history of the origin of the telegraph, and the correspondence includes many letters from noted men as to its use and its probable effect upon business and the country. Some of these deal with the question of the government control of the telegraph and show that the sentiments both of the inventors and of the greater statesmen of the time were in favor of the United States Government owning and operating the new invention. This opinion was generally expressed at the time the telegraph was first shown to the Congressional Committee on Commerce in the Capitol at Washington. Mr. Vail's letter describing this exhibition has never been published. It is written to his father and is as follows:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., CAPITOL, ROOM COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE,
February 13, 1838.

"MESSRS. S. VAIL & SON:

"The Committee on Commerce have just witnessed the operation of the machine with entire satisfaction, and the effect which it produced, I think, is the forerunner of success in our object. They have just left the room after giving Professor M. instructions how to proceed, and they speak of it as a serious thing whether the government take it under their control, or corporations. Mr. Smith, the chairman, said it would do immense mischief if it were not under the government. They advised Professor M. to invite all of the members of Congress and heads of departments to witness the operation of the machine prior to introducing the subject before the House. This course will be taken by us. I have prevailed upon Professor M. to use the dictionary which he has done with complete success. But had he used the alphabet, it would have been a different story. I could not induce him to give up the alphabet until the last hour, so reluctant was he. The proposition will be to try a circuit from Philadelphia to New York. The members of the committee think that would be best, and Professor M. is to give his proposals written. From all I can now see I fear I will not be able to leave this week—perhaps not the next. I am looking every day for a letter from you with means. I have only about ten dollars, half of which is specie and which I do not wish to part with. The House was in an uproar all day yesterday upon a resolution which Mr. Wise offered on

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account of a letter in the *C. and En.* of New York, charging one of the members with taking compensation for pulling the strings with the government. It is now generally understood to be a member of the Senate from Maine. I will write again as soon as there is anything happens which will interest you. Now you must act and now you must enable me to act. If it is necessary for me to stay two weeks, I must stay, although I would rather return as soon as possible. Give my love to Mother, Mary, Sarah, Dr., and the children. I remain,

"Yours affectionately, "ALFRED VAIL."

Six years after this letter was written a telegraph line between Washington and Baltimore had been completed. It worked well, surprising every one in Washington by announcing Henry Clay as nominated for the Presidency by the Whig convention in Baltimore, hours before the news arrived in the ordinary way, and on May 24, in the chamber of the United States Supreme Court, the famous first public despatch, "What hath God wrought," was penned by Miss Annie Ellsworth, the daughter of the then Commissioner of Patents, and was sent over the wires to Baltimore, where Mr. Vail received it.

At this time the inventors still hoped that the government would purchase and assume the control of the telegraph, but no movement was made by Congress to that effect. A few months later the owners of the invention received an offer of $200,000 for it, and the acceptance of this offer was conditional on the consent of Alfred Vail. When Vail received notice of this fact in August, 1844, he wrote a letter to Henry Clay telling him of this offer and asking his advice. After stating that he believed that the general government should have the refusal of the telegraph, he says that the whole question of the sale has been left with him and he is at a loss what to do. He then goes on as follows:

"Having been personally and daily engaged in experimenting, and my mind with every day's experience expanding with the progress and the development of the telegraph, I have taken a broader view of the subject and its results than mere dollars and cents, and the more I reflect upon it the more I am led to believe that the electro-magnetic telegraph is destined to have and to exert a greater amount of moral influence upon the community, if under proper guidance, than any discovery in this or any other past age of the world. If, on the other hand, it should be controlled by vicious and designing men, possessed, so to speak, of the attribute, or, rather, of the faculty of ubiquity, what amount of evil may they not inflict upon that same community in a political, moral, and in fact in every point of view that can be conceived of! The questions upon which I ask advice are: Whether or not the government should have the refusal; and the probability of the government's taking it. I do not pretend to more patriotism than my neighbors, and I believe I look to my own interests closely, as every man should do, and I profess to have an innate and abiding sense of duty and care for the prosperity of my country and the perpetuity of the liberties we enjoy, which every man should possess whose privilege it is to live under such a government as ours.

"The questions are propounded and the opinion solicited for myself alone, for my own satisfaction before I act in the premises, subject to any suggestion you may be pleased to communicate. Should I have transcended the bounds of propriety in making the appeal, I trust you will pardon the humble individual whose observation of passing events has led him to esteem you as a public benefactor, and ascribe it to the profound respect of

"Your obedient and very humble servant,

"ALFRED VAIL."

To this Henry Clay replied in an autograph letter, in which he expresses himself in favor of the government owning the telegraph, but insinuates

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the difficulty of getting Congress to make any appropriation for it. I copy Mr. Clay's letter. It reads:

"ASHLAND, 10 Sept., 1844.

"DEAR SIR:

"Absence from home and the pressure of a most burdensome correspondence have delayed the acknowledgment of the receipt of your favor of the 15th ultimo. I should be most happy to give you a satisfactory response to your inquiries respecting the electro-magnetic telegraph, but I fear I can say nothing that will in the least benefit you. Assuming the success of your experiments, it is quite manifest that it is destined to exert great influence on the business affairs of society. In the hands of private individuals they will be able to monopolize intelligence and to perform the greatest operations in commerce and other departments of business. I think such an engine ought to be exclusively under the control of the government, but that object cannot be accomplished without an appropriation of Congress to purchase the right of the invention. With respect to the practicability of procuring such an appropriation from a body governed by such various views, both of constitutional power and expediency, you are quite as competent to judge as I am. As the session of that body is now nigh at hand, I submit to you whether it would not be advisable to offer your right to it before you dispose of it to a private company or to individuals. If I understand the progress of your experiment, it has been attended with further and satisfactory demonstrations since the adjournment of Congress. I am,

"Respectfully, your friend and obedient servant,

"*To* ALFRED VAIL, *Esq.* "H. CLAY."

These letters are only a few of a large number of all kinds and from many eminent people. The whole correspondence is full of strange and interesting matter. It shows in a beautiful light the character of Alfred Vail, and demonstrates, in the words of Amos Kendall, who knew both inventors intimately, that when justice is done the name of Alfred Vail will stand associated with that of Samuel F. B. Morse in the history and introduction into public use of the electro-magnetic telegraph.

FRANK G. CARPENTER.

VALUES AND WAGES IN MEXICO.

THE *Norte*, a newspaper of the city of Chihuahua, referring to my article on "Wages in Mexico," which appeared in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for January, in which I stated that the wages of field laborers range in Chihuahua from 18¾ cents to 25 cents maximum, says that they are not so low, and that, on the contrary, that state is perhaps one of those in Mexico where field hands and workmen in general are better paid. The wages of field laborers there, the *Norte* says, vary from 37½ cents minimum to $2, the latter being the sum paid to cowboys who furnish their mounts.

Since the construction of the railroads, it is said, wages in general, and especially those paid to the poorest classes of laborers, have had a remarkable advance, which has been maintained, with a tendency to a further rise rather than a fall. For instance, bricklayers get at least $1.25 per day, while a foreman bricklayer gets $3 per day. It is difficult to get a servant for less than $10 a month, besides board, and other laborers are paid on the same scale. The data I published were furnished to me by the officials of the Mex-

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ican Government, who had taken great pains to obtain correct information on the subject, and represented the average wages in the different counties of the state; but if wages are higher in Chihuahua than stated, it will only strengthen the substance of my article.

In confirmation of the data contained in the article I will quote from the list of current prices of Mexican products which appears in the *Official Journal* of the Federal Government of Mexico, of December 15, 1891, the price of a *fanega* of corn, equivalent to about two bushels, in different parts of that country:

At Tepic (Territory of Tepic).....	$1.87	At Allende (Chihuahua)..... ..	$4.50
At Guadalajara (Jalisco)	$2.25 to 2.50	At Alamos (Sonora).....	6.50
At Cuatxingo (Mexico).....	3.50	At Culiacan (Sinaloa).....	11.00

This remarkable difference in prices is noticed on some other grains and produce, such as beans, chickpeas, wheat, and barley, and is due to the different conditions of each locality, and especially to the abundance or scarcity of rain, which naturally affects the crops, and also to the difficulty of communication and the consequent high freights. Prices would find their level if grain could, for instance, be carried profitably from the places where it is abundant to those where the crops have failed or been poor. This state of affairs, however, shows the great chances which Mexico offers to business men.

M. ROMERO.

FLYING-MACHINES.

"Does the leetle, chatterin', sassy wren,
No bigger'n my thumb, know more than men?"—TROWBRIDGE.

THERE is nothing to prevent man from flying, like the eagle of the Alps or the condor of the Andes, except his want of inventive skill; and if the signs be true, this will not very much longer prevent the desired consummation. Nature has not given man wings; neither has she given him fins, yet he outstrips the strongest of the finny tribes in traversing the deep; she has not given him weapons, yet he vanquishes the fiercest warriors of the forest and jungle; she does not protect him from cold or heat, yet he is neighbor both to the polar bear and the tropical elephant.

There is no miracle in the swallow's arrowy flight; it only applies the well-known laws of dynamics. Darius Green's logic was good so far as it went. The trouble was not that

"The bluebird and phœbe
Are smarter'n we be,"

or that

"the bat
Had got more brains than's in his hat,"

but that his brains did not work long and hard enough over the problem of flying.

Man may equal and even surpass the swallow in speed, but he can never possess the swallow's perfect command of his movements in the air, to curvet and turn at sharp angles like a ray of light from opposing mirrors. Three physical laws preclude such a possibility.

First—The time required for the production, change in direction, or overcoming of motion, is inversely as the mass moved.

Second—The relative strength of a body, whether to resist or to exert force, diminishes with its magnitude.

Third—The relative sustaining effect of moving air upon a body diminishes with the magnitude of the body.

The smallest material thing in existence is the ultimate atom. This has infinite strength—*i. e.*, it is capable of resisting an infinite stress, and is

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therefore capable of receiving and imparting, unchanged itself, any force brought to bear upon it. The next smallest thing is the molecule, which no power less than chemical affinity can disintegrate. A single pair of molecules, held together by the maximum power of cohesion, is the next strongest thing in existence. As the number of cohering molecules increases, the more easily does the mass yield to a disintegrating force. Thus, the little wooden bridge which will sustain a hundred times its weight without bending perceptibly, if enlarged indefinitely will fall apart of its own weight, and the child's paper boat, which rides triumphantly on the miniature lake in a basin, if increased in all its dimensions would collapse in a shapeless mass. The only way in which we can conceive of Gulliver's Brobdingnags as possible is by supposing that the size of the atoms of which they were composed was great in proportion to their bodies. Under like conditions only could the roc of the "Arabian Nights" sail the air like the eagle of reality.

But even then the gigantic bird would have a harder task to perform than the eagle, just as the eagle has a harder task than the swallow, unless the aërial atoms themselves were enlarged, and their sustaining power, when in motion as wind, were thereby increased in the same proportion.

For these reasons, then, man will never poise himself in the air like the dragon-fly, nor zigzag through it like the swallow. Nevertheless, there appears to be no adequate reason why he should not, some fine Fourth of July, astonish

> "the nation
> An' all creation
> By flyin' over the celebration,"

if he can only devise a motor, with the necessary accessories, which will not add too much to his own weight. But even great additional weight will not be an insurmountable obstacle, provided a sufficiently rapid motion can be attained.

It takes time for the greatest power to move the smallest mass; that is to say, if a force were applied for only an instant (*i. e.*, a point of time) to a mass, it would not move it in that instant. If, then, a great weight should press for only an instant against a small resistance—as that of the air—it would for that instant be sustained. Hence it is only necessary for the weight to move fast enough horizontally to rest for only an instant upon any given mass of air, in order to be sustained. As it moved from mass to mass it would not have time to fall through any one of them. Of course this condition can be reached only approximately; but the closer the approximation, the less uplifting power would be required in the motor.

The principle is strikingly illustrated by Mr. Langley, of the Smithsonian Institution, by comparing such a mass to a skater moving rapidly over thin ice. The briefest pause or diminution in his speed, and his support would instantly yield; but it is only necessary for him to move fast enough to glide over a film as thin as tissue paper.

Here, then, is the problem of aërial navigation theoretically solved. Given, a mass of any size or weight, spread laterally so as to rest upon a sufficiently large mass of air, and moving with sufficient speed horizontally, and your flying-machine, so long dreamed of and so ardently sought, is achieved!

Such is, or is to be, Professor Langley's *Aëroplane*, the realization of the magic carpet of the "Arabian Nights." May Fortune and his happy genius bring speedy success!

JULIEN ST. BOTOLPHE.

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